MANUSCRIPT

Militant Civilization

Indus

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History of Pakistan dates back to early days of human civilization.

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Pakistan's History; 5000 BC- 2000 AD.

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India's western borders were never really demarcated rather there was no such concept in medieval India with only natural barriers acting and indication g the extent of influence of each subsequent ruler. Durand Line is the Pakistan western frontier with Afghanistan and equally important it is the eastern frontier of Afghanistan. The Afghan country never had any frontiers they since 1730 have been the ruler of India, it was Nadir Shah who destroyed Delhi and later same was done again by Ahmed Shah Abdali in 1760. Durand life is important to read and understand in the overall context of Afghanistan and Pakistan's history.

Chapter II. Historicism.

History is never constructed from narratives but from documents[i] , it is one view and other is that history can be constructed rather it is present irrespective of the documents. By history I mean research conducted scientifically.[ii]

What is History? It can be a history as what has actually happened in the past, or history as our inevitably imperfect understanding of what happened in past or history as the continuing attempt by professional historians to extend our knowledge and improve our understanding of what happened in the past.[iii]**Carr Edward**. *What is History* ? New York: Alfred Knofp, 1964.writes, before you study

History study the historian and before you study historian study his historical and social environments.{P.54}[iv]

Kelley, Donald. *Faces of History, Historical inquiry from Herodotus to Herder*. London: Yale university Press,1998. History as a concept and term is a European perspective, a Greek creation {p.3} Like Epic poets the historians have been fascinated by the questions of origins, of first causes, which usually meant the founding of particular natural traditions….not from the start of dynasty but from the creation of the universe. {p.8} The first law of history according to Cicero is to tell the truth and mix in nothing that was false {p.9}, like philosophy history concerned itself with questions of cause and effects, {p.10}History is often regarded as form of memory, History has a pattern that could be explained {p.21}.

Herodotus was born in 484-428 BC , than Thucydides{460BC} , he wrote a history of Peloponnesian war, he served as general in the wars, later dismissed , he died in the hand of an assassin.. Polybius {200BC} he wrote two centuries after Herodotus and Thucydides, he wrote about the rise of Rome, he was also a general in the army and exiled to Rome. His history starts with 220BC, the various wars in Greece, Asia, Italy and Africa , he invented the term **pragmatic history.** Lelio Torelli was the first to associate history with the notion of method, another thinker Francis Baudoun of France noted that like law, history is a form of wisdom , Baudoun prized eye witness testimony , failing this he turned to monuments and records {p.194}. Jean Bodin was of the opinion that History is above all sciences, according to Bodin, history comprises of human natural and divine, he codified history , a bibliography of 282 items {p.198} , men who compares modern historians with the ancients and ancients with each other and adds physical considerations also, will make the most certain judgement about history, {p.198}.

Kahler, Erich**. *The Meaning of History***. New York: George Brazitter,1964. Where there is no happening there is no history…thus the more flow of events become meaningful the more it becomes history {p.23}Historia is a Greek word meaning Physical Research {p.25}

Lester Stephen . *Probing the past a guide to the study of and teaching history*.{Boston: Allyn & Bacon. 1974},History is also a story, history is past but we cannot reconstruct past in totality, we are more interested in those acts of pasts which have importance today as well,[v]

Jhonson Arnold. ***The Historian and historical Evidence*** .NewYork: Charles Scribner 1926 .

The main debate is whether history to be considered as an science or as a art, German philosopher Leopold Von Ranke wrote Wie Es Eigentlich ge we sen ‘ as it actually happened’.{Ibid,p.9} the scientific method is in which the historians proceed through a steps, First he a perceives a problem , something unknown about the past, an unsatisfactory explanation. In the second step , historian reads and forms about an idea or hypothesis and in third step, historian collects facts and data to verify his hypothesis and finally he draws his conclusion {p.22}. thus history does not exist apart from facts, thus Historical fact is a fact about the past , it may be true or false, thus take the example of Alexander the Great being wounded in 326 B.C, now it cannot be proved, because it cannot be repeated, therefore statement of one person becomes all important , in one sense there are no facts in history ‘fact’ is inferred from certain tangible tracts {p.24}.Hypothesis and Theory. Historical inquiry does not strictly bind itself to the scientific model of investigation, historian is in most instances searching for the unique and particular case, not for the general and universally applicable principle or law. {p.31}.His goal is less to verify or refute a hypothesis and more to reconstruct the past as accurately as possible {p.32}. Historical facts are not manna, facts are worthless unless someone does something with them and the job of historic is to make them tell the truth as fully as possible , historian based his work upon facts but he also recognizes the problems attached to them . theory is used interchangeably with hypothesis, however a theory is much broader

and more encompassing than a hypothesis. In science , theory is supported by general laws, however in history, there are no general laws. An example of historical hypothesis is that of Waith Prescot Webb hypothesis ' that conflict with the plain Indians resulted from cross movement, that is , the Indians moved northward-southward, while American settlers moved westward. Arnold Toynbee's theory of civilisation ' which broadly consist of numerous hypothesis and generalisation[vi] {p.33}

Historical frame of Reference , historian select and arranges facts in some kind of pattern, he interprets them and he draws generalisation from them, all these actions require him to order knowledge and this ordering of knowledge , we shall call his 'frame of reference'. Basic element of historians frame of reference is is his underlying philosophy, assumptions and beliefs which he holds about his nature of man and the universe, his metaphysical , epistemological and axiological positions.

Gottschalk Louis *Understanding History* NewYork: Alfred Knopf,1969. Writes Historian cannot avoid and therefore it is better that he should be openly committed to some philosophy and some code of ethics[vii].

Historian is a living thing, he is a political animal, he believes either in democracy or in dictator ship. ***Frontier thesis***[viii] Fredrick turner Jackson 's Frontier Thesis, in it Turner argued that peculiar frontier condition in USA contributes significantly to the formation of the national character and the spirits of American , he had studied biology, physics and chemistry and as such he employed and modified the Germ theory to support his thesis {p.44}. The facts without interpretation do not constitute history {p.62}. A historical generalisation is a statement or a term which has been informed inductively from a number of particular cases instances or events, historical generalisation suggests some regularity or pattern of events, ideas and human actions which is of historical significance. ***Frontier thesis***[ix] {p.66}

Synthetic generalisation , it requires the historian to ferret out some uniformities from a mass of a material on a broad topic such as war or revolution, predictive generalisation is almost like a law.

Historiography at its highest level of originality may attempt an enquiry which former generators called philosophy of history in an application at a lower level it is deep structured inquiry until around 1700 , the idea of a period of history designating a stretch of time with an internal unity and more importantly the notion of 'source' understood as composing one of the elements out of which a historical text might flow, just as river originates in its source, William Robertson seems to have been the first to use the word in that sense in 1777, he was principal of Edinburgh University[x] . Karl Marx has written in the opening sentence of his Communist Manifesto 'The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle' where as Emile Durkheim {1858-1917} intermingle the history and sociology 'How' becomes important .Wilhelm Dillthey produced a critique of scientific methods in humanities, he was consumed that history moves in a pattern, according to laws[xi].

On what should we base our narrative if not on living knowledge…this sin equally true of modern history, where the nature of the subject makes it inevitable that much will remain hidden for a long time and where an author will have no means other than his suspicion with which to discover {or perhaps conceal} events which he will nonetheless present as recognised truth, facts which later come to light reveal the attempted reconstruction as erroneous, the chief requirement for an historical work remains always that it be true; that events actually happened as they are described, the scholarly service performed by the work is by far the most important .[xii]

Gardiner,Patrick. Ed. ***Theories of History*** .Illinois: Free Press,1959. The term philosophy of History ahs been applied somewhat in-discriminatively to all speculative schemes {p.7}. Giambattista Vico {1668-1774} born in Naples , wrote New science {1725}, in which he propounded the a 'Cyclic

theory of History' in which human nations passes through inevitably certain distinguishable stages of development, he believed that unlike world of natural object about which the God alone knows , the world of nations or human history has in fact been created by men and is there fore something which men can hope to know, {p.10}

Karen Katajin highlights the **History and Repetition**[xiii], from ancient times it has been said that history repeats itself, in truth people study history precisely because it is not a onetime phenomenon but rather maintains the possibility of recurrence. Does the repetition of history actually exists? Such questions have never been properly considered for even if they intuitively acknowledge the repetition of history scholars aspiring to be scientific refrain from taking on the issue for the fear of rendering their work unscientific. I believe in the existence of historical repetition, as well as in the possibility of engaging such a repetition scientifically, of course what is repeated is not the event itself but rather the structure. 'Kondratieff Wave', a sixty year business cycle, a theory of long wave authored by N.D. Kondratieff {1892-1938}. Repetition in history does not signify the recurrence of the same event, for repetition is possible only in terms of form {structure} and not event {content}.

Karl Marx stated while writing about the events of French coup of 1851, ' Hegel remarks somewhere that all facts and personages of great importance in world history occur as it were twice. He forgot to add; the first time as tragedy second as farce', Marx referred to the repetition of history of 1789 and later that of 1848, in the both cases, a revoloution that overthrew the monarchy and aimed to establish a republic, resulted ultimately in imperial rule . *Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all the generations of the dead weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living. And just when they seem involved in revolutionizing themselves and things, in creating something that has never before existed, it is precisely in such periods of revolutionary crisis that they anxiously conjure up the spirits*.[xiv]

Karl Jaspers[xv]states that Man's history has largely disappeared from memory, only through investigation and research does it become accessible, foremost in 19th Century world history was seen as the history of West, where as in 20th century gives equal rights to all men where there are men there is history, In Western world, the philosophy of history was founded in the Christian faith, ranging from St Augustine to Hegel, All history goes towards and comes from Christ as quoted by Hegel.

William Edward Harpole Lecky, wrote Thoughts in history there are many different kind of history, which should be written in many different ways, a diplomatic, a military or a parliamentary history…the supreme virtue of the historian is truthfulness.[xvi].

Alan Munslow writes[xvii] , histories live the past and history exists in a synonymous relationship, based on fine related assumptions, historians statements are defensible empirically and to discover the meaning of the facts then to infer the causal relationship , this takes the form of hypothesis, to advance historical explanations , a truthful narrative and define history.

Lynn Hunt, in, *Writing History in the Global Era* states that in 1852/53, requirement for admission to the Harvard University required knowledge of algebra, geometry, Cesare's commentaries, select orations from Cicero.[xviii] The Marxist view all history is driven by changes in the economic mode of production that shape conflicts between classes,[xix]. Few paradigms in historical research are Marxist, Modernization which includes Durkheim and Weber, the Annales School and finally the Identity Politics especially inn USA. The Annales School emerged in France in 1930-40, focussing on pre industrial societies, the main founder was Marck Bloch, Lucier Febvre and

Ferdinand Braudel. They aimed at directing history away from merely battles , treaties towards the social life , society, social groups and on collective narrative {p-16}. Annales School of historian believe that environment climatic and demography shapes human activity in a fundamental way. Since these factors change slowly over long periods of time neither revoloution nor any other kind of short term political change concern them {p-17}.

Culturist theorist insists that culture has its own meanings own autonomous logic, language and cultural expressions that shape the social world. The term use to describe them are 'cultural studies' ' past structuralism' 'past modernism' 'past colonialism' 'linguistic turn' 'cultural turn'..they all are like cousins and inter related terms.. area studies did not demand a specific theoretical commitment and could foster an interest in the particularities of different cultures{p-28}. First Coffee House opened in at oxford in 1650 by a Jew and by 1700 there were over 500 coffee houses in London alone. The term 'class' first appeared in 1790 in England, High Class, Middle Class and middling class, the term working class first appeared in in 1815 {p-87}. Sociology first appeared in in English in 1842 , it was used by Auguste Comte a French in 1830, given the variety of questions that call for a historical approach, no one paradigm is going to rule the roost {p-121}. The 1776 Declaration of Independence 'When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal status to which the Laws of nature and Naturist God entitled them, a decent respect to the opinion of mankind.

Lord Acton[xx], *Essays in the Liberal Interpretation of History*, writes a review on the thesis of Mr Buckle's History of Civilisation in England which was first posted in Rambler in 1858 and reprinted in London. McMillian 1907 . History is a generalised assessment of the personal actions of men united in bodies for any public purpose and science is the combination of a great mass of similar facts into the unity of a generalisation , a principle , or a certainty by the recurrence of like events under given conditions , now can there be a science of history. Lord Acton is famous for his saying *Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Great men are almost always bad men."*The man argument Lord Acton has forwarded is, that can we predict the actions of such men which Buckle has argued, that it can be. Acton went on to states that ,;there is no regularity in the throws of the dice taken ten and ten together, but in a ten thousand throws, we can predict with great confidence how many times sixes will be drawn, there is no possible certainty that any given individual will commit murder , but take a population of one hundred thousand and in agiven time someone or the other is sure to be found committing murder, when we say Law , we always think of some force or command…but Mr buckle by law , only means 'numerical average'.{P-13}.

C.V.Wedgewood. in *The sense of past, thirteen studies in the theory and practice of history,*[xxi]highlights the older historians concentrated more on nomenclature than on analysis , on 'How' the rather than 'Why' of history. The desire for withdrawal is often a powerful motive in driving the student towards the study of history. Marc Bloch in his The Historian craft' wrote a resistance and published posthumously, That historian can only , in the last analysis , reconstruct the past by borrowing from and applying his own daily experience of life {P-26}. The romantic approach to history, is in which a historian bred in the national loyality as almost a natural law, find it extremely difficult to grasp the meaning of the different loyalties, no less strong, which have constructed and disciplined the political lenses of men in the past{p-35}.

Marc Bloch*The Historian Craft*[xxii]states western man has always been historically minded, Christianity is the religion of the historians {p-4}, other religious systems have been able to form their beliefs and their rites on mythology nearly outside human time. The word History is very old, so old

that men have sometimes grown weary of it {P-20}. History is the science of the past{p-22}, Historian is like a police magistrate who strives to reconstruct a crime he has not seen{p-48} An experience almost as old as the mankind has taught us that more than one manuscript has justified its date or origin, that all the accounts are not true {P-79}. On historical analysis, Bloch writes and quotes Ranke 'historian' has no other aim than to describe things as they happened'. Herodotus said 'to narrate what was'. The scholar records, better stills he invites the experience which may perhaps upset his most cherished theories {p138}. For the first tool needed by an analysist is an appropriate language , a language capable of describing the precise outlines of the facts {p157}. Historian speaks only with words, hence with those of his country. Regarding Historical causation, Bloch writes 'in vain positivism claimed to eliminate the idea of cause from science…every physicist, every biologist thinks in terms of 'why' and 'because' …here Bloch gives the example of a man falling from precipice {p-190}. For historical reasoning, the most specific , the one which somehow represents the differentially element in the compound of generative inference is accorded the name of cause {p-192}. Laws of trajectory are as valid as for defeat as for victory; they explain both, they are useless as a proper explanation for either , for a doctor , the acuse of an epidemic is the multiplication of a microbe and its conditions the dirt…for sociologist, it would be poverty,{p-193}.

Herbert Fisher*Studies in history and politics*[xxiii] on the importance of history , irrespective of whom has written , in his support of logic he highlights the history written by Ammanius Marcellinius the Roman Soldier, he approached history from a soldier's angle…he is indeed our principal authority on art of war in 4th century AD.'.{p-13}.

Hans Kohn *Reflections on Modern History, The historian and human responsibility*,[xxiv] History has a two fold meaning , first of all it is a sequence of events…our word story is connected with the word History original meaning of the Greek word Historia , not so much the narrative of the events but their interpretations {preface}. The historian is a man who tries to find out what has happened in the course of time and to correlate the events within the limits of available material on the one hand , his intelligence, imaginations, ethical understanding, on the other , into a meaningful sequence. Perhaps the ancient Hebrews were the first people strongly conscious of their history, the past history of their tribe is to them always vividly present and continuous {P-4}. History is a process influenced by forces beyond man's grasp.

Hegel George Wilhelm Friedrich. *The Philosophy of History* translated Sibree,J.. New York, The Colonial Press, 1899. First Edition 1841.

Hegel defines three kind of histories the Original History, Reflective History and Philosophical History[xxv]. In the first kind he mentions about Herodotus, Xenophon and Thucydides, they simply transferred what was passing in world around them{Ibid}. In reflective history, whose mode of representation is not really confined by the limits of the time to which it relates {p.4}this si what is known as Universal history. every writer of history proposes to himself an original method {ibid}.in this category he puts Livy, Diodorus, Siculus, Johannes Von Muller. In this category is Pragmatical History , when we have to deal with the past and occupy ourselves with a remote world. {ibid, p.5}another form of reflective history is Critical history , it is history of history a criticism of historical narrative and an investigation of their truth and credibility.

On Philosophy of History , Hegel dwells 'thoughtful consideration of it {history' {p.8} thought is indeed essential to humanity, it is this what distinguish us from brutes… philosophy brings with it to the contemplation of history, is the simple conception of Reason….that the history of the world presents us with a rational process., this conviction and intuition is a hypothesis in the domain

of history as such, nature is an embodiment of reason, that it is unchangeably subordinate to universal laws…but to depict history is to depict the passion of mankind, the genius, the active powers, that play their part on the great stage.[ibid,p.13]….among the Ashantees the king inherits all the property left by his subjects at their death. …among the negroes moral sentiments are quite weak or more strictly speaking non existent.[p.96]. tradition alleges that n former times a state composed of women made itself famous by its conquests, it was a state whose head was a woman. She is said to have pounded her own son in a mortar , to have besmeared herself with the blood …..she is said to have driven away or put to death all the males and commanded the death of all male childen….an English traveller states that when war is determined on in Ashantee [p.100]

On India Hegel is off the mark with vague statements like India like China is a phenomenon antique as well as modern[p.139]…everything therefore –sun, moon, stars, the Ganges, the Indus beasts, flowers-everything is a god to it…the parrot , the cow the ape are likewise incarnations of god.[p.141].

Dilthey Wilhelm, *Pattern and Meaning in History thoughts on history and society*, ed, H.P.Rickman. New York: Harper Torch,1961…. **Dilthey 1833-1911 German.**

History is one of the forms of disciplined research by means of which the human mind satisfies its curiosity and orientates it self in world. [p.12] dilthey's most original contribution to history , is his conception of understanding and interpretation , through which meaning is recaptured. [p.33]

Immanuel Kant {1724-1804} '*On History*[xxvi]*'* edited by Lewis White Beck, translated by Lewis White Beck and Robert Anchor and Emil L,Fackenheim {NewYork: Bobbs Merril,1963}.

Kant wrote critique of pure reason and also the critique of practical reason, his first writing was in 1784, his two essays 'what is enlightenment' and 'idea of a universal history from a cosmopolitan point of view'. What is enlightenment is the name of the essay and he went on to describe 'enlightenment is man's reliance from his self-incurred tutelage, which is man's inability to make use of his understanding without direction from another. Self incurred is this tutelage when its causes lies not in lack of reason but in lack of resoloution and courage to use it without direction from another. Sapere Aude{dare to know} , ***have courage to use your own reason***, this is the motto of enlightenment. This term was much used by President Musharraf in Pakistan during his tenure to highlight the intellectual state in country which was under the control of the religious leaders and scholars.

'*In Idea for a Universal History from a cosmopolitan point of view'* Kant highlights that what concepts one may hold from a metaphysical point of view, concerning the freedom of will, certainly its appearances which are human actions, like every other natural event are determined by universal laws , However obscure their causes , history , which is concerned with narrating these appearances permits us to hope that if we attend to the play of freedom of the human will in the large, we may be able to discover a regular movement in it {p-11}. Since the free will of man has obvious influence upon marriages, birth, deaths , they seem to be subject to no rule by which the number of them could be reckoned in advance, yet the annual table of them in major countries prove that they occur according to laws as stable as those of the unstable weather, which in the large we cannot determine but which in the large maintains the growth of the plants… in keeping with this purpose it might be

possible to have a history with a definite natural plan for creatures who have no plan of their own.{p-12}.

Kant's eight thesis are , first one state states ' all natural capacities of a creature are destined to evolve completely to their natural end.. If we give up this fundamental principle we no longer have a lawful but an aimless course of nature and blind chance takes the place of the guiding thread of reason. Second thesis 'Inman, as the only rational creature on earth. Those natural capacities are directed to the use of his reason, are to be fully developed only in the race and not in the individual'.

The third thesis 'nature has willed that man should by himself produces everything that goes beyond the mechanical ordering of his animal existence and that he should partake of no other happiness or perfection than that which he himself independently of instincts has created by his reason'.

The fifth thesis highlights that The greatest problem for the human race , to the solution of which nature derives man, is the achievement of a universal civic society which administers law among men'. The highest purpose of nature which is the development of all capacities which can be achieved by mankind is attainable only in society and more specifically in the society with the greatest freedom, such a society is the one,, in which there is mutual opposition among members, together with the most exact definition of freedom and fixing of its limits so that it may be consistent with the freedom of others{p-16}. These thought sand the ideas are almost in practice in the tribal areas of Pakistan, where the tribal society has given freedom to each member yet there is a limit to which the society has put a limitation so that the others can live in harmony with each other.

In the sixth thesis Kant goes on in a logical manner to point that 'this problem is the most difficult and the last to be solved by mankind' Man is an animal which if it lives among others of its kind requires a master, for he certainly abuses his freedom with respect to the other men, he wishes to have a law which should restrict the freedom of others but where possible to exempt himself, the highest master should be just in himself yet a man.

Seventh thesis , 'The problem of establishing a perfect civic constitution is dependent upon the problem of a lawful external relations among states and cannot be solved without a solution to the latter problem' all wars are accordingly so many attempts to establish new relations among states and through the destruction or at least dismemberment of all of them to create new political bodies, purposeless savagery held back the development of the capacities of our race….same is done by the barbaric freedom of established states {pp.19-20}

Eight thesis deals with , ' The history of mankind, can be seen in the large as the realisation of nature's secrets plan to bring forth a perfectly constituted state as the only condition in which the capacities of mankind can be fully developed and also bring forth that external relations among states which is perfectly adequate to this end.

Conjectural Beginning of Human History is another essay of Kant. Nomadic people recognising God alone as their lord a, city dwellers and farmers on the other hand have a human master in the form of government {p-65}

Perpetual Peace is another of Kant's essay which highlights the kind of relationship which should exists among states for a long lasting peace, it is idealistic in nature. No treaty of peace shall be held valid in which there is tacitly reserved matter for a future war, otherwise a treaty would only be a truce, suspension of hostilities but not peace. No independent states large or small shall come under

the dominion of another state by inheritance , exchange, purchase or donation , a state is not a ground , a piece of property , it is a society of men whom no one else has any right to command or disperse except the state itself. Standing armies shall in time be totally abolished for they incessantly menace other states by their readiness to appear at all times prepared for war, they incite them to compete each other in the number of armed men and there is no limit to this, {p87}, however periodic and voluntarily military exercises of citizens who thee by secure themselves and their country against foreign aggression are entirely different. To this he added three definitive articles

Constitution of every country state should be republican, this constitution is drawn by or established by firstly by principles of the freedom of the members of a society , secondly by principles of dependence of all upon a single common legislature and thirdly by the law of their equality P-95}. Second definitive articles 'The law of nations shall be founded on a federation of free states' states do not plead their case before a tribunal, War alone is their way of bringing suit.{p-98}. The third article states that 'Law of world citizenship shall be limited to conditions of universal hospitality' hospitality means the right of a stranger not to be treated as an enemy when he arrives in the land of another, one may refuse to receive him when this can be done, without causing his destruction: but so long as he peacefully occupies his place, one may not treat him with hostility. {p102}.

Karl Raimund Popper*The Poverty of Historicism*[xxvii] {London:Routledge & Kegan, 1957}. The fundamental debate which Popper stated, is that there can be no laws prediction of human of the course of human history by scientific or any other rational method. The paper was first read in January 1936 and Popper dedicated his book 'to the countless men and women of all creed or nation or races who felt victims to the fascist and communist belief in inexorable laws of historical destiny'. Popper argues in his book in his book in a logical manner first putting the logic and doctrine and arguments of those historians who believe that history can also have laws like the physics and later in the book Popper gives the other side arguments, that there can be no laws applicable in history as in physics.

The main theme is that whether the laws of physics are applicable in theoretical social sciences, Whereas Galileo and Newton made Physics a success, Pasteur work in Biology, nothing concrete comes out in Social science les economics, there are two main school of thoughts in terms of methods in social science 'pro-Naturalistic' or 'Positivist' who favours the application of physical laws and 'Anti Naturalistic 'or 'negatives' as the opposing social school. The attitude any researcher adopts largely depends upon his views about methods of Physics {Popper in introduction}.

Popper coins the term Historicism, as approach to the social science which assumes that Historical Prediction is their principal aim and this can be attained by discovering the rhythm, and pattern, laws, or trends that underline the evoloution of society. Anti-Naturalistic Doctrine of Historicism, they believe or claim that some of the characteristics of Physics methods cannot be applied to the social sciences, Physical laws or the laws of nature are valid anywhere and always, on the other hand sociological laws or laws of social life, differ in different places of and periods {p-5}.

Physics depends upon generalisation, on the general uniformity of nature, upon the observation or assumption: that in similar conditions or circumstances similar things will happen, this principle is taken valid throughout space and time in the case of physics. Another key factor of physics is the experiment which implies artificial control, an artificial isolation and thereby ensures the reproduction of similar conditions, where circumstances are similar, similar things will happen {p-8}.

History may repeats itself but never on the same level, especially if the evets concerned are of historical importance and if they exert a lasting influence on society {p.10}. It is conceivable that by analysing social life we may be able to discover and to understand intuitively how and why any particular event came about: that we may clearly understand its causes and effects…yet we may nevertheless find that we are unable to formulate any general laws, which would serve as descriptive in general terms , of such causal links {ibid}.

In exactitude of prediction, Popper highlights that for example, if it is predicted that shares will rise for three days and fall on fourth, than people will sell it on third day and thee by decreasing the prices of the shares on the third day thus falsifying the prediction.{p.13}

Historicism , the analysis and explanations of various differences between the various sociological doctrines and schools. ***Holism***, Social science deals with living like biology , thus it should be treated on biological science, the living are different from atomistic; thus Holistic manner{p.17}. a group founded byA & B will be different in characteristics from a group consisting of same number but formed by C and B, a group has a history of its own and that its structure depends to a great extent on its history and that its structure depends to a great extent on its history , it is even conceivable thata group may keep much of its original character even all if all of its original members are replaced by other[xxviii] {p.17}. All social groups have their own traditions , their own institutions their own rites . Historicism claims that we must study the history of the groups, its traditions and institutions, if, we wish to understand and perhaps to foresee, its future development {p.18}. Biological or organic theory, of social structure, the theory which interprets social groups by analogy with living organisms, indeed Holism is said to be characteristics of biological phenomenon is general and holistic approach is regarded as indispensable in considering how the history of various organisms influences their behaviours {p.19}.

Intuitive Understanding. We must try to understand intuitively the history of the various social groups, it is the doctrine. Popper highlights that it is important for the social scientist to understand the larger aspect of the action, such as raising of new army in a certain country, it is necessary to analyse the intentions , interest and so forth {p.21}.***Inference by analogy*** , It is a variant of intuitive understanding , from one historical period to the other, although no event can really repeat itself, yet, analogous tendencies may become dominant. Quantitative method in Physics like the reduction of aperture , increase the angle of diffraction, it becomes one cause and effect but its not possible in social science[xxix] {pp.25-26}.

Essentialism versus Nominalism. Problem of universals, one of the oldestand most fundamental problem of philosophy , every science use the terms which are called Universal terms ‘energy’ ‘velocity’ ‘carbon’ ‘whiteness’ ‘evolotion’ ‘justice’ and so on, thus we can have proper names like World War 1, Alexander The Great Hailey’s Comet. On the other hand Nominalist held the view that universals differ from proper names , only in being to the members of a set or a class of a single thing rather than to just one single thing. The universal term ‘white’ for instance , seemed to this party to be nothing but a label attached to a set of many different things, ‘snow’ ‘swan’ table cloth etc , this is the doctrine of minimalist.

Essentialism are anti nominalists, ‘we call each single white thing ‘white’ on account of a certain intrinsic property that it shares with other white things, namely whiteness , essentialism also relates to realism.

Realism derives from the assertion that universal objects , for instance the whiteness really exist, over and above single things and sets or groups of single things, these universal objects were called as Forms or Ideas, they ae also known as Essences . *Methodological essentialist*, are inclined to formulate questions in such terms ' what is matter?, they penetrate to the essence of things where as Methodological Nominalists , favour words as merely useful instruments of description, they freely introduce new terms where ever necessary or by redefining the old terms where ever convenient.. {pp.28-29}.

Essence or the real character of a social group can reveal itself and be known , only through its history {p-33}.

The ***Pro-Naturalistic Doctrine of Historicism***. Popper in the second half of his book , now puts forward the ideas of Pro naturalisti Doctrine 'sociology is like Physics a branch of knowledge which aims at the same time to be theoretical and empirical, by theoretical , we mean sociology has to explain and to predict events with the help of theories or of universal laws {which it tries to discover} by empirical , it means that , it is backed by experience , that the events it explains and predicts are observable facts and that observation is the basis for the acceptance or rejection of any propounded theory {p.35}. prediction with the help of laws and the testing of the laws by observation must be common to Physics and Sociology , this is{p.36} the Pro naturalistic doctrine. If it is possible for astronomy to predict eclipses, why should it not be possible for sociology to predict revoloution, is the standard question which Popper raised. *Observational Basis*, history in this natural sense is the basis of sociology as all sociology is based upon observation and observation of the past are in the form of political chronicle, in brief *sociology is theoretical History* {p-39}. Popper takes the analogy between the astronomy and social science as the base of his arguments.

Historical Laws. Popper argues , sociology is theoretical history, its scientific forecast must be based on laws and since they are historical forecasts , forecasts of social change, they must be based upon historical laws, they have to be discovered {p.41}.Popper also highlight Historical Prophecy versus Social Engineering, the prophecy of Typhon coming and the construction of shelter as safety , is the utility of historical forecasts.

Historicism, the kind of history to which historiscist wish to identify sociology, looks not only backwards to the past but also forwards to the future. {p.45}. it will be admitted by the defender of the rights of Pure or Fundamental researcher deserves every support n their fight against the narrow view, that scientific research is justified only if it proves to be a sound investment{p.55}. before we can collect data, our interest in data of a certain kind must be aroused, the problem always comes first {p.121}[xxx]. initial conditions, historical interpretation, a selective point of view or focus of historical interest, if it cannot be formulated as a liable hypothesis {p.151}.

Richard Collingwood *The idea of History* {Oxford:1956}. Writes about history ' this book is an essay in the philosophy of history, the name philosophy of history was invented in the eighteenth century by Voltaire, a type of historical thinking in which the historian made up his mind for himself instead of repeating whatever stories he found in old books { in introduction} same phrase was used by Hegel but they meant a Universal History , a third use of the phrase is found in several 19th Century positivists for whom , it was the discovery of the general laws governing the course of history, discovering ' uniform laws' Collingwood's own idea of philosophy of history is a 'philosophical inquiry into the nature of history'{pp,1-7} history is a kind of research or inquiry , science is finding things out and in that sense history is a science, object of history is to 'action of human beings that have been done in the past' {pp.9-11}. How does history proceeds? History

proceeds by evidence and its interpretations, only clue to what man can do is what man has done {p-10}. Theocratic history, a unscientific history rather a statement of what has been said {p.14}. Collingwood cites Herodotus as the creator of scientific history, although Herodotus in his account of India had never been to India and as such all his accounts are based upon what he listened from others and that does not make him or his histories as scientific. Thucydides is the father of Psychological History which is not narrative facts for the sake of facts , its chief purpose is to affirm laws, psychological laws which is not an event , not yet a complex of events , it is an unchanging rule which governs the relations between events, what chiefly interests Thucydides is the laws according to which they happen. {p.30}. World history or Oecumenical history si attributed to Polybius, he has a definite theme, he has a story to tell , a story of notable and memorable things {p.34}. Herder was the first thinker to recognise a systematic way that there are differences between different kind of men {p.91} Marx asserted that historical events have natural cause {p.125}. Positivism may be defined as the philosophy acting in the service of natural science, they ascertain facts and secondly framing laws{pp.126-127}The laws are farmed through generalisation fro facts by induction {p.127} this si known as the Positivist Historiography. Comte proposed that there should be a new science called sociology, which was to begin by discovering the facts about human life and then go on to discover the causal connexions between these facts {p.128} the 19th century historians accepted the first afct but rejected the second the discovery of general laws {p130}. In engalnd F.H.Bradle wrote in 1874 'The pre supposition of Critical History@ what the critical historian has to do is to decide whether the persons whose testimony he is using were on this or that occasions judging correctly or erroneously {p.137}[xxxi]

Collingwood stated that 'every historian would agree , I think that history is a kind of research or enquiry' idea of history, p.9.

Collingwood Richard ***Essays in the Philosophy of History*** University of Texas:1967.

The philosophy of history therefore is the study of historical thinking, not only the psychological analysis of its actual procedure but the analysis of the ideal which it sets before itself[xxxii] Philosophy is thinking about the world as a whole, to study the nature of selected parts of the world is to be scientist; to study its nature as a whole is to be philosopher.[xxxiii] If there is to be a philosophy of history, history must be something more than a trade or amusement, it must be universal and necessary human interest.

At bottom the attempt to construct a universal history failed , because it involved confusion between history and science, they are both forms of knowledge, involving observation and thought and requiring highly developed technical methods. In science the individual fact is of importance only so far as it illustrates a general law, whether Newton's applereally fell or not is not important as long as we grasp the Newton's law of gravitation. In history, the opposite is true, the individual fact is the end and general law is of importance only so far as it enables us to determine the fact. {p.133} leaflet No.79, p.133.

Dray William, *History as Re-Enactment R.G. Collingwood's idea of history*. Oxford University , 1995.

The first task is to set out in a little detail what Collingwood means when he insists that historical understanding requires a re-enactment of past experience or a rethinking of past thought.[xxxiv] The re-enactment doctrine was first expressed in Collingwodd's lectures in 1928…auditor reconstructs it mentally or at laest follow a present performance

Polybius of Megalopolis a second century BC, Greek historian , wrote The Histories[xxxv], In 3rd Century BC Rome was ruled by Emperors, it was in 509 BC that it was transformed into Republic, between 280-275 BC, she seen off the threat of Greek. First Punic War 264-241 BC was against Carthage, Second Punic War 218-201BC, in which Hannibal won at Cannae {216BC} but later lost at Zama {201BC}.Polybius set off to explain how Rome conquered and unified the world 220-167BC; Polybius believed that one of the vital qualification for writing history was practical political and military experience, he himself was son of a Greek general.[xxxvi] There is no better correction of human behaviour than knowledge of past events, after all , is there anyone on earth who is so narrow minded or uninquisitiveness that could fail to want to know how and thanks to what kind of political system almost the entire known world was conquered and brought under a single empire of the Romans, in less than fifty –four years .[xxxvii]

James Breasted**,**. ***The Conquest of Civilisation***. Edited by Edith Ware. NewYork: Literary Guild of America,1938.

Breasted wrote and noted that the history of the ancient world was largely made up of the struggle between the Southern Sematic line and the Northern Indo-European Line, in the end, Indo European gain victory[xxxviii]

Raflaub, Kurt. and Nathan Rosenstein. Ed. ***War and society in the ancient and Medieval World, Asia, the Mediterranean, Europe and Mesopotamia*** . London: Centre for The Hellenic Studies, trustees for Harvard University,1999.

Wrote 'in 1500-500 B.C.E called the spring and Aukimen period 'warfare was an integral and essential part of the religious systems, it could be claimed that the state and social order were entirely dependence for their existence on warfare and sacrifice.[xxxix] They further write ' that villages definitely began to be protected by deep ditches from about 4000B.C.E {p.49}. War has been known in japan since about 300BC; The Chronicles of japan, a court history was compiled in 720 AD. {p.49}. The most enduring relation were regional and factional unfortunately , our sources do not give us precise number for the armies of Philip or Alexander in relation to the total population {p.174}

Maier,Berhard. ***The Celts a History from the Earliest times to the Present***, trans Kevin Windle, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University,2000.

The term Celts stands for a variety of central European peoples with whom the Greeks and Romans came into contact from 6th Century B.C, These are commonly known today as Germanic…all statements about their culture and religion are stereo typed, Celts are also for linguistic facts 'Celtic' was the designation for a group of related languages evolved from a common ancestor…thus they form western most branch of Indo –European family.[xl]

Ross, Anne. ***Everyday life of the Pagan Celts***. London: Putnam,1956. On Celts further writes , in pagan Celtic societies, war was regarded as the norm and highly desirable; and fighting and success in a single combat were right and proper for the young warrior and hero effect…by alarm, any fancied insult resulted in an instant seizing of weapons.[xli]

Hutton Webster *Ancient Civilisation,* Chicago, Heath,1931. Notes that India was better known than China…one of the most fertile territories on the globe {p.29} The Punjab was settled by Indo-European people sometimes after 2000B.C; they also spread over the valley of the Ganges and so brought all Northern India under their control[xlii]

Hutton was a Ph.d professor in University of Nebraska in*Readings in Ancient History*Boston, Heath,1913. He notes that Alexander the Great was also surprised that Porus did not cowed in spirit but advanced to meet him as one brave man would meet another brave man. {p.147}[xliii].

H.G.Wells in his *A short History of the World*, notes that 'historians are for the most part very scholarly men, now a days, they go in a fear rather of small errors than of disconnectedness, they dread the certain ridicule of a wrong date mark than the disputable attribution of a wrong value {p.3}[xliv].

Martin Rex. *Historical Explanations re-enactment and practical inference*. London: Cornell,1977.

One of my principal concern in this study is to determine whether universal hypothesis are logically required by the explanations which historians and other social scientists give of human actions, and whether their use would commit us to accepting some versions of universal regularities in mind and behaviour- in particular that version provided in the uniformity conception of human nature {p.21}

On modern or present day situation in Afghanistan

Lohbeck,Kurt. Holy *War,Unholy Victory Eyewitness to the CIA's Secret War in Afghanistan.* Washington: Regnery,1993. Writes; Its geographical wealth has made Afghanistan a cross road of civilisation{introduction} Tribesmen proved to be a greater obstacle than Golden horde had expected , they would raid a regiment of the great army and then disappeared into the shelter of the difficult and rugged mountain, the Great Khan had never encountered such a audacity and prowess {p.3}. USA embassy in Islamabad was burnt to the ground in 1979{p.8}By 1963, Afghan border with Pakistan was had been closed for two years {p.27}[xlv]

Ahmed Rashid ,*Taliban, Militant Islam , Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia* {London: Yale ,2000}. Writes I had been reporting on the Taliban phenomenon making more than a dosen trips to taliban strongholds in Kandahar {p.7} There is now an entire factory of myths and stories to explain, how Mullah Omar mobilised a small group of Taliban against the rapacious Kandahar war lords…raping of two teenage girls {p.25}[xlvi].

Thomas Rutling''Loya Paktia's Insurgency''in, *Decoding the New Taliban, insight from the field*, ed. Antonio Giustozzi {New York: Columbia,2009}. Writes Loya Paktia represents a quasi-autonomous region, the three constituent province Paktia, Paktika and Khost are one of the three major Pashtun provinces of the country {p.57}.[xlvii]

Doug Stanton,. *Horse Soldiers The extraordinary story of a band of U.S Soldiers who rode to victory in Afghanistan*. NewYork: Scriber,2009. Writes about Taliban, these guys{Taliban} do not surrender, they fought to the death{p.2}.[xlviii]

Sean Maloney,. *Confronting the Chaos, a rogue military historian returns to Afghanistan*.Annapolis: Naval Institute.2009. his book covers the war in Afghanistan from 2003-4, he states a statement of Osama Bin Laden ' Why are your government especially those of Britain, France, Italy, Canada, Germany and Australia allying themselves with America in the attack against us in Afghanistan'.{p.xiii}.[xlix] Provincial reconstruction team PRT is a holly new weapon in the counter insurgency war against the Taliban and its supporters. Essentially there was a proxy war where by USA supported the Northern Alliance to take down the Taliban shield while another

campaign superimposed on the proxy war hunted out Al Qaeda leadership, these operations continued into 2002. The next phase which lasted from 2002-end 2003.

Carter Malkasian, *War Comes to Garmser Thirty Years of Conflict on the Afghan Frontier* .NewYork: Oxford,2013. The point of study of one district in Afghanistan is to help answer whether the USA and its allies were bound to be defeated in Afghanistan…should the USA heeded the warnings of history and stayed out {p.xxi} . in 1972, Jeffery Race published *War Comes to Long An*, a first person analysis of the war in Vietnam, he lived in Long An for four years conducting research , that became his doctoral dissertation, the book he published is cited as classic in 2006 US Army /Marine Corps counter insurgency field manual. In similar situation, Carter Malkasian came to Garmser district in 2009 as political officer, he spent two years. it was decided that Afghanistan would be a centralised democracy with elections , small professional army and a western legal system. Violence re-appeared in 2005 and 2006. The new counter insurgency manual was published in 2008, by mid 2011, 100,00 American, 10,000 UK troops were in the country, since 2001, 17000 has been killed {14,700 USA and 2125 UK} over 500$ billion has been spent, polls found out that as many as 70% Americans wants to get out of Unwinnable war.

Hamid Mustafa and Farrall Leah. ***The Arabs at war in Afghanistan***. London: Hurst & Company,2015.

In September 1996, Mullah Omar had declared Afghanistan as an Islamic Emirates, in august 1996, Osama had issued declaration of Jihad against USA, there was an Arab Village at Jalaabad. {p.1}. the first Arab fighter group was formed at Khost {p.2}.[l]

Professor **Lieutenant General Peter Leahy** who was chief of army staff in Australian Army[2002-2008} and now at University of Canberra writes in the preface of the book ' today our soldier face the descendants of the hardy Afghan warriors ona field of battle that has changed little over the centuries…provides valuable insight into the conduct of today's campaign, which can help deliver us from the perils of repeating the mistakes'.[li]

Bing West in .*The Wrong War Grit, strategy and the way out of Afghanistan*.NewYork:Random,2011, writes about the American troops in Afghanistan, the opening phrase is about a young man in grey burqa peeping out from a mosque ' did anyone shoot at the mosque? Negative, a fire leader yelled 'we know the rules, we are not fucking stupid'. The leadership of Al Qaeda and Taliban settled into the tribal frontier lands of western Pakistan, Pakistan army played double game, on one hand it accepted billions of dollars and permitted strikes by American unmanned aircraft on Al Qaeda leadership , on other hand it shielded other terrorist groups and leaders as a ledge in case the Taliban again seized the power. In 2002, Karzai was supported as President , in 2003 USA invaded Iraq thus in 2003, emphasis was on chasing Al Qaeda leader , where as in 2004-2005, USA turned to counter insurgency in Afghanistan , three different military units were attacking the insurgents, first was special operations forces{SOF} which focused on guerrilla leaders, financers, improvised explosive device makers{IED}and safe houses operators. Second was the airpower, third was the foot soldier {p.138}.[lii]

Chapter III

History Reinterpreted

The history of mankind is obscure and still shrouded in mystery despite our travelling to the space on a regular basis. Our origin is not clear, there are varying theories and philosophies to highlight from where we humans have taken spring, geologist who study the life of the earth are confident to celebrate its billion years[1] birthday and philosophers question what was there when this earth was not there?. From historian point of view basing upon the visible evidence in the form of available texts, archeological remains and on logic the present day civilization dates back to almost 7000 years before Christ the earliest civilizations originated in the Asia mainly in the east on the banks of great rivers like Nile, Euphrates, Yellow and Indus.

Birth of human civilization and culture is rather a debatable point with no clear concise result possible in the end, the available scientific evidence highlights that the date of our planet is much older than what a normal human mind can comprehend or calculate, it dates back to almost four billion years in terms of geologic time[2] with different ages and eras running back to almost 200 million years but in more concise way depending upon the available physical evidences the human mind logically accepts the existence of human civilization almost 10,000 years ago but the issue is not closed yet as the very form of our evolution and gradual progress throughout these billions of years has been a subject which has not been closed yet, one theory extends the idea that we have evolved in a gradual manner from similar creatures like ape the Neanderthal era or civilization is supposed to exist somewhere 3,00,000-100,000 years ago and then came the time when humans were able to do something with the stones the stone age or the Pal eolithic period that was 2,50,000-2,00,000 years ago the earliest artifacts have been discovered in Central Asia including Siberia and western Turkestan both cold regions which dates back to almost 13th Millennium.[3]. within the context of India the Neolithic remains have been found at Baluchistan at Mehrgarh and at Kashmir as well[4].

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[1] **Earth** sciences." *Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica Online Academic Edition*. Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 2012. Web. 16 Feb. 2012. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/176118/Earth-sciences>

[2] "geologic time." *Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica Online Academic Edition*. Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 2012. Web. 20 Feb. 2012. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/229694/geologic-time

[3] "Neolithic Period." *Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica Online Academic Edition*. Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 2012. Web. 20 Feb. 2012. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/408894/Neolithic-Period>

[4] "Mehrgarh." *Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica Online Academic Edition*. Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 2012. Web. 20 Feb. 2012. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/373226/Mehrgarh>

By 6000 or 7000 B.C. there were already quasi-civilized communities in lower Mesopotamia and in Egypt, there first appear cities, temples, systematic irrigation, and evidences of a social organization rising above the level of a mere barbaric village-town. In those days the Euphrates and Tigris flowed by separate mouths into the Persian Gulf, and it was in the country between them that the Sumerians built their first cities. About the same time, for chronology is still vague, the great history of Egypt was beginning. [5]

Whereas the history or the epigraphy of Nile and Euphrates has been able to pass down to us the culture and religion of these two great civilisations in the form of tablets and seals which inform us of the deities, the codes the life pattern of those ancients people with certainity, we know that Gilgames fighting with lions that dates back to 3000 years BC,it is 1 and half inch in length and is preserved in British Museum, there are quite a number of seals showing men with wings, heavily maned lions then there are very elaborate seals which depicts a sow walking with almost half a dozen of her siblings through a field[6] , but no such thing or evidence was available for India other than the oral traditions which are called Vedas before the archaeological excavation carried out in 1922 in Indus Valley which have been termed as one of the greatest of our time. It is a coincidence that two of the greatest riddles of human civilization were unlocked in the same century with the finding of the Pyramids. there fore one has to look into the Nile and Euphrates cultures of the past to find the similarities in the Indus Valley civilization and as such to fill the vacuum .

The Egyptians religious traditions that has been deciphered from these seals highlights that they had a high priest who was responsible for all the ceremonies for the reason that the ruling princes were too busy with the state craft to have time to carry out these ceremonies to the perfection otherwise it was the princes in whom the divinity was placed, these chief priest was called Uibu and he would insist on the human cleanliness by washing, each act of sacrifice contained an accompanying number of words whose die sequence and harmony must be adhered ' *one false note a single discord between the succession of gestures and the utterance of the sacramental words, any hesitation , any awkwardness in the accomplishment of the rite and sacrifice was vain'*[7] thus a breed of professional priests emerged whose main task was to carry out these duties on behalf of the ruling class, the gods of Egypt were numerous they wee rather a nation of gods they had gods for every part of their life, sun was a living god, their religious belief was based upon the idea that heat of sun fermented the soil of the Nile and from thee the creatures wee born, there was a class system in Egypt, The priests were exempted from the military duty and also from certain taxes,they lived on the sacrificial meat and the milk offered by the commoners, they would carry out prediction for the rulers.

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[5] A Short History of the World ,H. G. Wells New York The Macmillan & Company 1922 , Chapter XV

[6] Dawn of Civilisations, the seals are marked as such majority of them are in British Museum and Louvre Museum in Paris.

[7] Ibid,p-124

Chaldeans of Euphrates{3800 BC} on the other hand were not that good in city construction as the Egyptians were , yet their temples were as high as possible to construct {tower of Babel}[8] one of the leading historian of Chaldea was Berossus ,one of the key features of their seals were the depiction of fights with the lions,hunting of lions with arrows,capturing the horses with lasso, depiction of half man half fish deities, horses being hunted by the dogs, they show that hogs have been tamed and so were ass,ox,goat and sheep and yet the horses wee untamed as back as 3000 BC, and extraordinary seal depicts a bull with precise anatomy and however there is no depiction of elephants. The concept of the world conceived by the Chaldeans was around their first king named Alorus who ruled for over 36000 years and they believed that ' In the time when the gods were not created not one as yet,when they had neither been called by their names…then Lukhmu and Lakhama were the first to appear…in the time when nothing existed which was called heaven above and nothing below had as yet received the name earth there existed Apsu the ocean'[9] thus the creation of the earth according to Chaldean was based upon the water and they further had the belief that a great flood came,similar to the Egyptians the Chaldeans also believed in the divinity of the king partly heredeitry and partly selection and they also had a high priest for religious ceremoinies called ' Ishshakku',their deity was goddess Allat represented with body of a disformed woman with half lion, having wings and serpents in her hands her children were two lions, the seals highlights a dog being on a leash apart from an oxen seal which is almost an replica of the seal that was excavated from Moenjodarro..

Historians have marked seven different groups which existed in early civilization which dates to 3000 years BC they are Hebrews, Egyptians, Armeans, Phoenicians, Hitties, Armenians and Persians and certainly Chinese have to be added in this list. Iranians were nature loving people who had a kind of monotheistic religion based upon a good and evil character the Mazda{wise} and Ahura{lord} were worshipped and supreme deity was Ahura Mazda and this praying was done without any temple or ritual but fire was used for this purpose in the open and preferably on top of mountain, the Iranian god of war was Mithra, the evil was Ahriman. Cyaxares {625-593 BC} and his descendents Cyrus {550-530BC} were able to conquer the Greek cities of Asia minor and later to extend their rule in the east to the inclusion of the Indus river and to its upper mouth at Taxila which the Persians called Gandhara and Sindhu[10] respectively ,they made a satrapy{province } of this Indian conquest, later Cyrus commissioned a Greek adventurist to sail down the Indus to have a feasibility of trade and shipping in the river, however the history is silent as why the Cyrus did not pursued the idea of finding the origin of the Indus. This is the first record of India or the Sindhu {Indus river} that is in written form.

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[8] Ancient Fragments of the Phoenicians,chaldeans,Egyptians,Persians,Indians and other writers,Issac Cory,{Pickering,London,1832}pp-31-34

[9] Dawn of Civilisations,p-563

[10] *Cyrus the Great*,Jacob Abbott,{Harper & Brothers,NewYork,1903},p- also see *Shohrab & Rustam an episode* ,Matthew Arnold & Marrie Snell{Warner ,Chicago,1896},p-82

Geography plays an important role in the determination of historical events. Thousand years ago when the agricultural era started in 7000 BC then the mountainous tribes migrated down with the flow of water from high mountains and came east ward towards the River Indus or Indus Valley. These tribes known as Aryans were fun loving, militant and monotheistic inn nature. They initially settled in the upper Indus Valley , Harrapa and Moen jo Dahro are two of great Aryan cultural remnant first discovered in 1921

Vedas

But there was more to India than just the mere desert which Herodotus observed but it was discovered with the archaeological discovery of Moen Jo daro and Harappa in 1920's,but before this discovery there were oral traditions in the India which are called Vedas [means knowledge] which are four in series the first one was composed in 11^{th} or 12^{th} century BC and is called **Rig Veda** the second is called **Sama Veda** and is composed of hymns of the RigVeda, the third Veda was composed in 10^{th} or 9^{th} century BC and is known as **Yajur Veda** and is composed of prayers the fourth veda is called **Atharva Veda**[11] , in short the Rig veda is the oldest and other have been derived from it , Rig Veda is thus not only a poem but a history'[12], but what kind of history does this Vedas give us

The Vedas speak of the battles that took place between the Aryans and the Dravidians. Aryans had no rituals neither they had any temples, for Aryan his horse was the most sacred and he used it in a chariot, Aryan was fond of warfare and Indra was the god the hero warrior for whose pleasure and favour Aryan would sacrifice the bull and the cow, Varuna was another god of Aryans which looked after the sun and sky 'sun and stars were his eyes' Rudra was the god of the rain and later known as the Shiva .The hymn of creation

Then was not non-existent nor existent: there was no realm of air, no sky beyond it.What covered in, and where? and what gave shelter? Was water there, unfathomed depth of water? Death was not then, nor was there aught immortal: no sign was there, the day's and night's divider.That One Thing, breathless, breathed by its own nature: apart from it was nothing whatsoever.
Darkness there was: at first concealed in darkness this All was indiscriminated chaos. All that existed then was void and form less: by the great power of Warmth was born that Unit13

There are vedas for the gods for daily life like marriage vow which is almost as true for today as it was thousand years ago

The Indus Valley is 950 miles long and 700 miles wide, its slope is steep 1:7,000 nearly double of the Egyptian civilization and Harappa and Mohenjo daro were its two main cities 350 miles apart with Harappa at the upstream, Harappa destroyed the Mohenjo daro and its subsidiaries ,therefore it has been established and speculated that the people of

[11] History of Asia,Volume I ,Woodbridge,p-131-134
[12] The rig veda a History,raeshwar Gupta{Jogendra Nath,Chittagong,1904},p-12
[13]

Harappa were more ferocious and more advance as to cause the destruction of downstream riparian culture but from where these Harappa's came is not certain and when they started is also not sure but what is certain that it finished in 1500 B.C., Aryans were carried out wholesale massacre of the Mohenjo daro and adjoining centres there is another theory that since Harappa was more agriculturist in outlook thus it escaped the destruction but it is possible that Mohenjo-Daro was destroyed by the Harrappian and they were the Aryans in deed. About the culture of Harappa 'it is difficult to say whether slavery existed'[14], on religious side nothing great is understood about these civilization as not many artifacts have been discovered apart from the statue of a dancing girl from Mohenjo-Daro and a dancing boy in Harappa yet it is established that people of Mohenjo daro did worshipped a god in the form of a human.'4500 years ago human development reached a striking peak in the Indus Valley cities of Harappa and Mohenjo Daro'[15]. Regarding Aryans the mystery deepens as to who they were it is again established that they had narrow skull and light skinned and this to some extent is related to even present day high esteem for fair skin and colour which is notably regarded as a nobility in the person, *These Indo-Europeans were white men like the Semites but they spoke a different language they had lived among the peaks which surround the plateau of Iran and that are why we call them Aryans Under the leadership of Zarathustra (or Zoroaster) who was their great teacher many of them had left their mountain homes to follow the swiftly flowing Indus River on its way to the sea.*[16]

Aryans ,Persians all originated from Pamirs'[17] it is very much possible that these Aryans came down with the flow of the river from its source in the far off mountains .There exist no literary tradition throwing light on the origin and growth of great cities of north west India[18]. The archaeological excavation by John Marshall in 1922 brought up the Indus Valley civilization and also another civilization which strangely did not existed on the banks of river as all other great civilization does, this was the Mehi and Killi which were found in the West of the Indus ,a an aerial reconnaissance highlights the signs of water and dry beds of the river are there which can be distinguished in the background of the brown mountains these civilizations especially the Mihi or Mehrgarh are on the same track which is still used by the caravans the famous Bolan Pass, on the other hand another signs of civilization are to be found in the Kot Diji area which has been called as the Chando Darro[19].

The knowledge about the Aryan way of life is more or less transmitted orally they used to sacrifice human life occasionally but generally it was in the form of cattle and horses[20], these oral traditions are called Vedas and it gives an insight into the life of Aryans and of that period which exists between 1700-900 B.C., The Vedas thus reflects on the cultural and life pattern of the Aryans and from them one can assume that Aryans were a

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[14] Ibid p-476

[15] Cambridge Encyclopedia of South Asia ,1982, p-9

[16] The Story of Mankind By Hendrik Van Loon, Ph.D. November 27, 2009 [EBook #754]

[17] *Sohrab & Rustam an episode*,Mattew Arnold& Marie Snell,{werner,Chicago,1896},p-82.

[18] *History of mankind volume One* Jacquer Houter & Sir Leonard Wooley{Harper & Row,NY,1962}a UNESCO project ,p 451-458, also see *Glimpses of World History* Jawaharlal Nehru{John Day ,NY,1934}

[19] Ibid p-452-458 and also the map. Also see History of Asia Volume 1 ,woodrige ,p-125

[20] India a History, John Keay, {Grover Press, New York,2000,}p-32 also see Nehru p-96

happy and cheerful race who was at times scared of his wife and his mother in law as well especially after loosing in the gambling. Puranas which are old Sanskrit text dating from 900-500 B.C., they are religious fables.

"The Rishi replied, Vedas, is a sacred work... In this world, when it was destitute of brightness and light, and enveloped all around in total darkness, there came into being, as the primal cause of creation, a mighty egg,. From this egg came out the lord Pitamaha Brahma,.. After these were produced the wise and most holy Brahmarshis, and the numerous Rajarshis. So the water, the heavens, the earth, the air, the sky, the points of the heavens, the years, the seasons, the months, the fortnights, called Pakshas, with day and night in due succession. And thus were produced all things which are known to mankind.. From these are descended the family of the Kurus, ; also rules for the conduct of mankind; also histories and discourses with various srutis;. It is elucidated by other Shastras, and comprehendeth the sense of the four Vedas[21].

The Brahmin gave the formality to this existing life pattern there is definite account of how a group in ancient world becomes the ruler of a person and society's rituals but this is how the Brahmin became the soul master of the Indus valley inhabitants, they were not the last one because this pattern was followed by the Persians as well where the king was subject to the high priests supports for his coronation[22]{Mazdaisim}

Brahmin brought a change in the social and cultural life of the people of Indus civilization it is clear that these civilizations were much advanced in their life which is evident from the archaeological ruins of the twin civilizations of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa the worshipping of the horse the bathing system the sanitation system all indicates their growth of the social pattern. The evolution of caste system took place either with the advent of these Aryans or it could be in place before that is also not clear, however with the passage of time there emerged four clear classes in the society the **Brahmin** or the religious teachers occupied the upper hierarchy along with the **Kashatriyas** the rulers, **Vaishyas** the farmers and traders the S**hudras** or the lowest echelon of the society. The life pattern at that time was more or less similar to the life pattern that remained in vogue till seventeenth century in India or at other parts of the world, there was a class of people who performed the so called dirty work of disposing the human and animal waste and it were these which became the untouchables. The history of world as transferred to us have covered almost every segment of the life yet the act of human waste disposal has remained in obscurity who and where it was disposed is an enigma but it is understood that it was an act which remained unavoidable since the birth of humanity ,the animals are free in this aspect they can pass on their waste without any social taboo but what were the human pattern is not understood so far, did humans also acted the way the animals do ,logically at some point in history the humans

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[21] *The Mahabharata of Krishna-Dwaipayana Vyasa Translated into English Prose Adi Parva*, Author: Kisari Mohan Ganguli, Release Date: April, 2005 [EBook #7864] pp5-7.

[22] History of Asia,vol,I,pp-65-69

considered it as an act that has to performed in privacy or away from the habitats. In the rural villages of Sindh and Punjab as late as 1989 and in certain cases still in parts of the Baluchistan and even in the vicinity of these two cradles of civilization the women perform act of nature collectively at night when they go out of the village and sit together in fields chatting and defecating ,in some civilization the body is then cleaned with stones, mud ,leaves or water unfortunately the Vedas are silent on this aspect but probably the people who were associated with the cleaning of these excrements were placed in the untouchables category, this is how the human castes evolved. Another interesting case is the use of the cow dung for burning at what time in our history it evolved is again not very clear to us and were only the low caste performed these acts or it was acceptable in high castes is again shrouded in mystery. In the same area of civilization the women folk of high castes do perform this work of converting animal faeces into the cakes used for burning. The whole point of discussion is to highlight that even today we are not clear on the basic acts of our race. This caste system was not restricted to the Aryans but in the code of Hammurabi the distinction is drawn between the gentlemen the poor and the slave[23] similarly the Hittite law also sharply distinguishes between the free man and a slave. This caste system was not restricted to the Aryans but in the code of Hammurabi the distinction is drawn between the gentlemen the poor and the slave[24] similarly the Hittite law also sharply distinguishes between the free man and a slave. the caste system was fully incorporated with four castes the Kashatriyas and raj Anya at the top these warriors families acknowledged a chief as their raja, the Kshatriyas acted as the ritual authority of the caste also the non Kshatriyas were called Brahmin and were taken as the parallel authority on the religion , it is very much possible that there existed two religions in the India at that time one which was preached and followed by the natives or the Dravidians and the other of the Aryans and thee is also a possibility when one takes a look at the modern religions and see how they have expanded into the sects thus the probability of having sects within the Aryan race cannot be ruled out., to these two races were added another which performed the agriculturist duties of crop and feeding the entire race they were called Vaisya they were also considered of the Aryan stock and thus 'dvija' twice born. And then there were Sudra the slaves. 'Brahmin was his mouth, rajanya was his arms, his thighs became Vaisya and from his feet Sudra was produced'[25].

Brahmin were no different from the high priests of the Egypt and Chaldea and neither there conduct is any different from them,despite lack of any positivist evidence of how they developed the society into four varnas or the castes the logi dictates basing upon the evidence of tablets and old scripture found on the other civilisations that these riparian cultures had something in common due to lack of grandeur and size of Indus Valley it seems more logical that it was influenced by the other two ,probably Aryans brought this society with them from the distant land .

[23] History of Mankind,p-476
[24] History of Mankind,p-476
[25] Ibid,p-54, the term used for caste in the Vedas is color the color associated with four castes as per Mahabharata were white,Red,Yellow and Black

Dravidians had their own gods about which nothing can written with certainty but the Aryans gods were distinct and have a striking similarity with the deities of the other two civilisations, Moen jo daro lived from 3500-2700 BC and it died a death probably due to the nature when Indus changed its course or buried it under silt, from where these Dravidians came no one is sure

Not all the Aryan tribes settled to the plains rather it was a continuous process which is going on even today. The waves after wave of tribes came down through many valleys and passes chiefly following the water source and preferring to live astride it. The subsequent waves pushed the iitial settlers further east or they moved themselves depending upon the strength available.

Probably these tribes were fire worshippers. By 500 BC the Indus valley was fully civilized with two main centers' of trade and civilization one was Tashkila {present day Taxila} and other was on the Ganges known as Magdella. It was at Magdella that the first rebellion against the Brahmanism religion appeared in the form of Buddha followed by Jains

India by now was well established and the eastern civilization on the Ganges rose to prominence in a philosophical manner, It is quite logical to perceive that this kind of Brahminic system was bound to be challenged as it creates divisions among the humans and as such the first challenge that came was rather philosophical in nature rather than violent ,Vardhama later called **Mahavira**{599-527 B.C.,} was son of a Kshatriya who had close relation with the royal family of Magadha the very first kingdom of the India founded on the banks of the Ganges, by this period the Aryans had been assimilated in the life of a settler they now live in cities which became small kingdoms spread all over the India but primarily they remained in the upper India and probably maintained a distance with the Dravidian societies of the South also the weather and close proximity of mountains could be another factor ,Meghda was one such kingdom.

Mahavira was married and had children and living a normal life when he set on a journey of over twelve years among the forests and mountains and contemplated and finally attained enlightenment at the age of 42 and for next 30 years he preached all over India his ideals and theory and he did in defiance to the established aristocratic of the Brahmins who were preaching in the Sanskrit but the common language was Prakrit and Mahavira did in the common language his '**five vows' were poverty ,honesty, chastity,truth and respect for life** ;even for the life that exists in the animals ,to practice Ahinsa the non violence against all living beings. equality of the classes being the fundamental of his theory. Jains or Jainism as it is known took an extreme view of Mahavirs teaching to the extent that they avoid cooking their food on a fire, they fast for long duration and religious suicides are allowed ,they move with a veil in order not to swallow the germs, they would clear the path before moving in order to prevent the loss of ants, one sect among them does not wear clothes where as the other wears. It is an extreme.

In the same time period son was born to Suddhodana king of Magadha, he named his son as **Sakyamuni Gauta**ma born at Kapila he was popularly known as Siddhartha and

today is famous as **Buddha**. [26]. Magadha was one of the leading and rather the most powerful kingdom of the eastern India which existed at that time it comprehends all the Gangetic provinces[27]. Thus it seems that whereas the area astride the Indus was under the Persian as their province the area further east i.e. the Ganges plains were under the descendants of the Aryans from where a new social system was taking birth in the form of Buddhism.

For twenty seven years his father shielded his son from the cruelty of the world the death the old age sickness and misery one day Siddhartha was able to see it when he went outside his palace 'how could a man of intelligence be heedless here in hour of calamity when once he knows of destruction…for what rational being would stand or sit or lie at ease still less laugh when he knows of old age disease and death'. Buddha was married at the age of nineteen and had a son also,for six years after his first encounter with the dark side of the life he wondered around and mediated and fasted more or less in the pattern of the Mahavira,he finally attained nirvana under a tree but then he gave up all this and in one of his first and most famous sermon in the deer park of Benares he advocated a middle path the path has eight folds and ten commandments which follow the right thoughts, words,deeds,purity of heart, kindness to all, truthfulness,charity absentinseism from faultfinding and avoidance of hatred. His commandments include not to kill ,steal, avoidance of adultery ,not to speak evil no flaterring speech, not to be angry and not to take ascetic vows[28]

Buddha was a revolutionary probably the first socialist of the world he was against the caste and promoted a classless society free of rituals and rites where all were equal and this made the existing establishment his enemy and probably being the king's son saved him from destruction. Buddha died in 543 B.C., and it was not almost 235 years after his death that his teachings were collected and they continued to be collected under the reign of Asoka in 200 B.C., in the year 420-500 C.E. there existed a great Buddhist university at Nalinda. However later the Bhuddism was divided into two main sects one is called Hinayana which does not belive in his divinity and neither worship him in the form of images the other Mahayana makes images of Buddha and considered him divine ,it is Mahayana which spreads in China and in India thus the engravings of Buddha in these areas. There are many Bhuddist relics among the area of operations of FC especially near Khyber Pass and in Gilgit.

Herodotus Account of India.

Cyaxares {625-593 BC} and his decedents Cyrus {550-530BC} were able to conquer the Greek cities of asia minor and later to extend their rule in the east to the inclusion of the Indus river and to its upper mouth at Taxila which the Persians called gandhara and Sindhu[29] respectively ,they made a satrapy{province } of this Indainconquest,later Cyrus commissioned a Greek adventurist to sail down the Indus to have a feasibility of trade and

[26] A Buddhist Reading , Dough Vincent, approved but unpublished Thesis, University of Western Ontario,2007 also see Buddha &His Doctrines, a bibliographical essay, Otto Kistner,{London,Trubnar& Company,1869}

[27] Researches into the Physical History of Mankind, James Cowles Prichard, Third Edition, Volume IV, [London 1844] p 113.

[28] History of asia,volume I ,Pp-143-145

[29] Cyrus the Great,Jacob Abbott,{Harper & Brothers,NewYork,1903},p- also see Shohrab&Rustam an episode ,Matthew Arnold &Marrie Snell{Warner ,Chicago,1896},p-82

shipping in the river,however the history is silent as why the Cyrus did not pursued the idea of finding the origin of the Indus. This is the first record of India or the Sindhu {Indus river} that is in written form.

Darius I {521-485 BC} had his empire divided in twenty satrapies,The Greek cities which were ruled by the Persians revolted in 490 BC and the resultant battle of Marathon as such marked the beginning of the end of Persian hold over the Greeks however Xerxes another Persian made an attempt to reconsolidate his empire but again a string of defeats at Salamis and Mycale in 480 BC further weakened the Persian hold. All this has passed down to us through the Greek historians among whom Herodotus is called the father of history had no knowledge of India other than that 'eastern part of India is rendered desert by sand{east of Indus and south of Punjab}'[30]. The birth of this Zoroastrian religion and the rise of Persian empire are rather synonymous to each other it initially took birth in Parthia {northern Iran},where one of the local ruler adopted it and soon in the time of the Cyrus{550-530 BC} it became a kind of official religion. Zoroastrianism flourished in the land of ancient Iranians [AryaoDanhavo} who were living in eastern part of the Persian Empire which is modern day Afghanistan and the area up till Indus and Baluchistan. Zoroaster was the son of Poroushaspa therefore he also belonged to a rich family his exact date of birth is not very precise but it is certain that he underwent hardships in his preaching which were to get away from false gods and to worship Mazda the one true god thus his followers are called Mazdayasni ,it is probable that Zoroaster lived in the time of King Gushtasp, he was murdered in the city of Balkh ,his time is 1200 B.C.[31], thus his time and the end of Indus Valley civilization almost coincides. it is probable that after his death the Persians again resorted to the worship of fire however they similar to the Indus valley dwellers did not built temples for rites rather they would perform their religious duties in open and preferably on top of mountains, the role of priest was fundamental in their society the priests were called magi , and the religious book Zend Avesta was compiled in 300 BC however similar to the Vedas the earlier part of Zend Avesta known as Yasna seems to be the original teaching of the Zoroaster, one of the hymn of the Zend Avesta has similar theme as in Vedas ' This I ask of you,oh Ahurmazda, answer me well, who at the creation was the father of justice, who assigned their path to the sun and the sky'[32]

This period of 7th and 6th century BC seems to be a period of great philosophical enlightenment where all around Indus Valley there was a search to find the true god and to enter into an era of modernization at least of the mind, it seems to be a historical coincidence that in regions adjoining the India the movements were taking birth and in certain cases the Indians themselves were at the helm[33],

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[30] The History of the Arts and The Sciences of the Ancients,Charles Rollin,{Blackie,Glasgow,1829},p-570
[31] A Brief sketch of Zoroastrian Religion & Customs, An essay,ErvadSheriarjiDadhabhaiBharucha{Bombay 1893}
[32] Ancient World, p-41 also see ZendAvesta
[33]polytheism." *Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica Online Academic Edition*.Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 2012. Web. 28 Feb. 2012. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/469156/polytheism>

The earliest civilizations originated in the Asia mainly in the east on the banks of great rivers like Nile, Euphrates, Yellow and Indus.By 6000 or 7000 B.C. there were already quasi-civilized communities in lower Mesopotamia and in Egypt, there first appear cities, temples, systematic irrigation, and evidences of a social organization rising above the level of a mere barbaric village-town, Whereas the history or the epigraphy of Nile and Euphrates has been able to pass down to us the culture and religion of these two great civilisations but no such thing or evidence was available for India other than the oral traditions which are called Vedas . Vedas [means knowledge] which are four in series the first one was composed in 11th or 12th century BC and is called **Rig Veda** [34], Rig Veda is thus not only a poem but a history'[35],

The Vedas speak of the battles that took place between the Aryans and the Dravidians. Aryans had no rituals neither they had any temples, for Aryan his horse was the most sacred and he used it in a chariot, Aryan was fond of warfare and would sacrifice the bull and the cow,. Aryans or Persians all originated from Pamirs'[36] it is very much possible that these Aryans came down with the flow of the river from its source in the far off mountains .There exist no literary tradition throwing light on the origin and growth of great cities of north west India[37]. The archaeological excavation by John Marshall in 1922 brought up the Indus Valley civilization and also another civilization which strangely did not existed on the banks of river as all other great civilization does, this was the Mehi and Killi which were found in the West of the Indus. Aryans initially established Harappa from where they raided Mohenjo daro a Dravidian habitat 350 miles downstream, Harappa destroyed the Mohenjo daro and its subsidiaries in 1500 B.C., Dravidians the natives were pushed towards the east and they today form the majority of population of present day India eEspecially that of South India

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Indus Valley was already in knowledge of the Persians[39] who in fact named River Sindhu as Hindu because of the Persian language calling S as H it seems that whole of Indus Valley was under them. The head of the Indus Valley was at Taxila or Tashkila where the Indus enters the plains from the mountains.. The Tashkila was the most prosperous of all the cities and the revenue from here surpassed all the revenue from other cities, it was the Persian province and so was the lower portion of the Indus valley. According to Herodotus the Indians were the most in number in terms of population in all the world and the tax which they were paying was the largest and most numerous of all the Darius's twenty satrapies, they were paying 360 gold dust talent[40]where as the Bactrian were paying

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[34] *History of Asia*, Volume I , Woodbridge, p-131-134
[35] , Raeshwar Gupta *The Rig Veda a History* {Jogendra Nath,Chittagong,1904},p-12
[36] Mattew Arnold& Marie Snell *Sohrab & Rustam an episode*, ,{Werner,Chicago,1896},p-82.
[37] Jacquer Houter & Sir Leonard Wooley *History of Mankind Volume One* {Harper & Row,NY,1962}a UNESCO project ,p 451-458, also see *Glimpses of World History* Jawaharlal Nehru{John Day ,NY,1934}
[38] Jacob Abbott *Cyrus the Great*, ,{Harper & Brothers,NewYork,1903},p-114 also see *Shohrab & Rustam an episode* ,p-82
[39] Nehru,p-104.also see Pliny *Natural History Book VI,p-30.*
[40] Herodotus *The Historia*, translated by George Rawlinson,ed Manuel Komroff,{Tudor,NewYork,1928}, p-182, also see Olaf Caroe, *Pathan 550B.C.-1957 A.D.*{McMillan,NewYork,1965},p-28.

360 silver talents and the value of gold was 13th times more than the silver, Sogdians were paying 300 silver talents.

There existed tribes east of the Indus which had no sense of death or life and were cannibal in nature, within the tribe there were no sick people as when any person fell sick the others will take him to one side and eat him up men will do this to men and women to the women, in another case the person who fell sick will leave the tribe and go to a isolated place and just wait for the death[41]. Darius had no power over these tribes which were probably in the south India, Herodotus also points that there was another tribe which was opposite to the one described above as they ate no animal meat, they sow no corn and eat only vegetables, another tribe was living near the city of Caspatyrus in the country of Pactyica these people dwell northward of all the rest of the Indians and follow the same code of life as the Bactrians, they are the most war like than any other tribe[42].

Indian soldiers were divided into cavalry and foot soldiers, a foot soldier carried a shield in his left hand ,a sword and a bow which was as large as himself ,the arrows sharp and nothing can resist an arrow from an Indian bow the foot soldiers also carry a javelin{ not all} their swords were heavy and during striking he will use his both hands for the purpose. The cavalry had the horses which were not saddled and neither had the harness rather they had their own peculiar iron bit, the horsemen would have a small shield.

Social life of India seems to be highly civilized ,people were dark in colour short in height and slim in frame, there is hardly any mention of the white colour by the Greek historians, there were class system in India, with Brahmin being held in high esteem and having the liberty to take anything from the market without any payment, this is quite similar to the pattern in the Nile Valley where the priests were offered daily milk and meat , the mode of transport for the nobility was horse and not one by four horse as riding on one horse was quite undistinguished in nature, camels were also use for transport ,elephants were the mode of transport for the king and the rajas, footwear was made of white leather with heavy soles to increase the height of the person, white dress made of cotton and wrapped around the lower and upper part with a head gear was the standard dress code, people tend to spend the hot summer day under the shade of trees with span so wide that ten people could sit under it. Women and all the other population exhibited high virtues, however it was not taken very seriously if a woman sleeps with another person if the gift is off an elephant and women themselves take it as a matter of pride that their beauty is considered worth an elephant. Marriages are not arranged rather the father will offer their girls to men for marriage only after they have won wrestling or similar competition . Indians have been depicted as healthy mainly due to their simple diet and absentee from wine, the doctors specialized in every part of the body and disease, the nuisance and hazard of snakes and scorpions was manifold as they were found under every stone and caused painful bleeding from pores and ultimately death ,yet the local doctors with the help of the herbs were able to cure that ,another method of relieving the pain was through singing which was performed by natives all over India. Brahmins took part in the public life and acted as advisors to the king and all of them lead austere life, men used to dye their beard in various colours like red , green ,white and purple; men also wear jewellery especially earring made of ivory.

Women and all the other population exhibited high virtues, Indians have been depicted as healthy mainly due to their simple diet and absentee from wine, the doctors specialized in every part of the body and disease, the nuisance and hazard of snakes and scorpions was manifold as they were

[41] The Historia of Herodotus , p-183
[42] Ibid, p-184

found under every stone and caused painful bleeding from pores and ultimately death ,yet the local doctors with the help of the herbs were able to cure that ,another method of relieving the pain was through singing which was performed by natives all over India, Suttee was practiced . Brahmins took part in the public life and acted as advisors to the king and all of them lead austere life, men used to dye their beard in various colours like red ,green ,white and purple , men also wear jewellery especially earing made of ivory. 'Men are taller than any other Asiatic most of them being over seven feet or not much less…the finest fighters to be found anywhere in Asia at that time'.[43]

Alexander Enters Indus Valley - Pakistan

The Greek cities which were ruled by the Persians revolted in 490 BC and the resultant battle of Marathon as such marked the beginning of the end of Persian hold over the Greeks however Xerxes another Persian made an attempt to reconsolidate his empire but again a string of defeats at Salamis and Mycale in 480 BC further weakened the Persian hold. . Alexander the Great set out from Greece in 330 BC to confront the Persians. Alexander the Great sacked Turkey in 334-333 BC, Phoenicians in 333-332, Persepolis in 331-330 and pushed into Arachosia{Afghanistan} & Sogdia{Uzbekistan}in 329-328 BC, he was in vicinity of Kabul in 327 BC. He was in hunt for the Persian emperor who was escaping north towards River Oxus; Darius was finally assassinated by his own men just before Alexander's arrival at River Oxus. Alexander the Great now decided to invade India.

Alexander had established many cities on his axis of advance all bearing the name Alexandria; a city with his name Alexandria was also established almost 25 miles north east of Kabul and it is from this base that he entered into the present day Pakistan[44] he had divided his forces into two groups with 30,000 [45] under his personal command ,the other group advanced through Khyber Pass under Hephaestion and Perdiccas[46] where as he personally marched through the indirect route the one which probably led him through present day Kafiristan- Swat-Bajaour {Aspasians- Guraeans-Assacenians}[present day Gilgit –Baltistan and Khyber Puhktoonkhawa provinces] 'the route which followed the river Choes was rough and mountainous and the crossing of the river was no easy task'[47] Alexander was wounded in one of the unknown towns in the mountainous area probably in the vicinity of Arigaeum{present day Nawagai} 'Alexander was wounded by a dart in the battle against Aspasians'[48] Ptolemy account for over 40,000 population made prisoner of war and 2,30,000 oxen were taken ;it is likely that he crossed the Indus near present day[49] Abbottabad and then descended down to the Taxila which is west of present day Islamabad, Taxila has retained its millennium old name till to date.

'The Greeks which entered India through Khyber Pass were offered resistance by the city of Peucelaotis{ present day Peshawar} resultantly the governor of the city was killed in the battle which took place after a siege of thirty days. Arrian and Curtius have left us accounts of the pro- tracted operations that were needed for the subjugation of the Assakenoi. They show clearly that their territory was a large one, extending right away to the Indus. It evidently included, besides the whole

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[43] Arrian *The Campaigns of Alexander translated by Aubrey de Selincourt* { Penguin,1971},p-261.
[44] Arrian ,p-194, also see *In the footsteps of Alexander the Great a video* hosted by Micheal Woods,1998.
[45]Miller, *Imperial Migrane*,pp,-7-10. Jhon Keay gives the figures of 50,000 see *India a history*,p-71.
[46] Yenne Bill ,*Alexander The Great*, { Palgrave,McMillan,New York,2010} pp-134-135
[47] Arrian,p-240
[48]Arrian's *Anabasis and Indica*,translated Edward James Chinnock{Chickwick press,1893},p-229.
[49] Alexander crossed Indus at Ohind 16 miles above Attock,Arrian,p-240.

of Swat, Buner and the valleys to the north of the latter. These accounts contain details of the places besieged and taken by Alexander; but it had not been possible to fix their position with any assurance so long as by far the greater portion of that extensive area remained inaccessible to antiquarian research. Only for the initial stages of Alexander's march was definite guidance available'[50]

The time which Alexander took in all this from Alexandria to the Taxila is almost four to six weeks by any means he must have started his expedition in and around February because Arrian do mention him waging war in the snow[51] what is strikingly missing is the absence of Nanga Parbat or any other mountain even the famous mountain in Chitral The SafeedKoh{Tirch Mir} is not mention what is mention is a peak of over 12000 feet and other of 7000 feet which lies almost 75 miles north of Attock where Alexander went with his companions for ritual sacrificial but the absence of Nanga Parbat is a very serious issue because it is highly unlikely that such a land mark is missed when Alexander has walked so close to it . Massaga[52] the capital of Asaciens {the town is not yet identified} '*Indians offered stout resistance…siege lasted for four days…many Indians were butchered even after surrender…Alexander married the Queen Cleophis of Massaga…Alexander had a son from her.*'[53]Massaga was the largest town in the Swat which had over 7000 mercenaries from India later many served under Alexander the Great but the massacre at Massaga is a black spot on the heroic structure of Alexander. Same is the case with Ora a town 75 miles north of Attock 7000 feet high the Greek historians tend to bring in the Greek mythology into the Indian history by mentioning the Alexander's visit to rock of Aoronos close to Ora; this rock of Aoronos has a legend that Heradis the son of Zeus himself was unable to capture it had a circumference of 25 miles and height of 8000 feet[54]; account of Arrian also records that Alexander after capturing it descended down from the mountains and proceeding towards the 'Peucelaotis which stood not far from the river'[55] .Few natives were captured who later guided the Greeks in locating the crossing point, there is no account of Alexander crossing of Indus 'I do not know…for there is no contemporary account'[56]. Tashkila {Taxila} was occupied without any resistance rather the city and its ruler Ombhi himself associated with Alexander the probable reason seems to be that being part of the Persian Empire the city considering being a tributary to the Darius now accepted the suzerainty of Alexander the Great thereby avoiding blood shed and saving the economy of the town, that is an educated approach and later one of world's pioneer university was opened at Taxila, it cannot be termed as treason or cowardice but that highlights the metropolitan culture existed then. 700 troops joined Alexander's forces at Taxila,200 talents of silver ,3000 oxen and over 10,000 sheep were offered for sacrificial purposes and some thirty elephants were also given as gift[57].

Battle of Hydaspes 326 BC – Pakistan's Cultural Icon

[50]Sir Aurel Stein *On Alexander the Great's Track to Indus* Personal Narrative of Explorations on The North-West Frontier of India ,{London 1929},pp,43-48.

[51] Ibid,p-194
[52] Curtiss called it Mazagae ,*Anabasi*s p-233.
[53] Arrian,p-246.
[54] Sir Aurel Stein ,p-43.
[55] Arrian,p-249.
[56] Ibid,p-264.
[57] Ibid,p-258.

The next important milestone was the crossing of river Jhelum the ancient Hydaspes 'Alexander the Great took twelve months in leaving Bactria and crossing of Jhelum'[58] ; there is no account of how Alexander spent the time but all of a sudden Greek historians put him at the banks of Hydaspes and a debate is raging today as to locate the spot from where Alexander made his crossing , there is a stone at the 17th hole of Riverview Golf Course at Jhelum which marks that point, other is a village Jalalpur few miles downstream[59] .

The Battle of Porus is a cultural heritage of Pakistan as the historian have nothing but praised for the character of Porus ' a man of character he was different from the Persian Darius who fled from the battlefield.. Porus's two sons died in the battle field….he looked majestic after the defeat in his over seven feet tall frame '[60]. The query of Alexander ' what shall I do with you ' and Porus answer the 'treatment due to a king' are now part of classic dialogue of world heritage. Alexander and Porus became friends to an extent that Alexander took campaigns to suppress the neighbouring tribes {the tribes across Porus boundaries were called Gleuganicae} on behalf of the Porus, all in all Alexander capture 37 towns after his battle with Porus and the smallest town had the population of 5000 inhabitants[61].

There are another historic events the most important being the establishing of two cities by Alexander one in the name of his horse Bucephala who died here and other{Nicaea} to mark the victory. Both these towns are not traceable now. Alexander then move forward towards east in the pursuit of another Porus who unlike his name sake remained a thorn in Alexander's crown and most likely carry out hit and run tactics, the fact that Alexander crossed the River Acesines {Chenab} close to the foothills of Himalayas as indicated by the presence of the rocks in the river 'Alexander's men crossed it on boats and floats it is little under two miles wide and very swift, it is formed by large jagged rocks over which the water pours violently with much noise and commotion'[62] indicates that Alexander went upcountry from Jhelum onwards, again Greek historians have left a void, Alexander then crossed Ravi{Hydraotes} and camped in the present day Lahore District area & Amritsar District{part of India but it was supposed to be part of Pakistan on transfer of power in 1947} 'two days march from Ravi , Alexander reached the town of Pimpraena'[63] at the banks of River Beas{Hyphasis} where he was engaged in fierce battles with the hill tribes of Sanga and Catahaei who took cover in their hill forts for over three days ,Greek historians have named few of these tribes but there seems to be little doubt that they are the tribes of present day Jammu and adjoining territories inhabitants{most likely Aryan tribes of Sialkot,the city was the seat of power during Saka's rule in India}}. 17000 Indians were killed here as compared to 12000 at River Jhelum.

Alexander cannot fail to take notice of the Kashmir region and the Himalayan mountains running parallel to his eastward path, it seems highly unlikely to his character that that he even failed to send any small force to reconnoitre the origin of the rivers , he himself came up with the theory of linking the Nile with the Indus which was repudiated by his scholars in the field before he put it down in writing for his mother. The ruler of **Kashmir** Abisares although did send his envoys but he despite Alexander's calling did not came to meet him this is the first mentioning of Kashmir in the world history.

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[58] Olaf Caore,*Pathan*,p-44.
[59] Fuller *The Generalship of Alexander the Great*{Cambridge,1948}.
[60] Arrian,p-280.
[61] Ibids,p-283.
[62] Ptolemy son of Lagus wrote it and quoted by Arrian,p-284.
[63] Arrian,p-286.

‘’ *Alexander promptly sent for Abisares adding a threat that should he fail to appear he would soon see the Macedonian army and it commander in chief in an unwelcome spot’’*[64] .

It will remain a mystery of the history as to the actual cause of the Alexander’s troops mutiny near Lahore ,was it due to the fatigue as written or was it to the incessant casualties being suffered in the hands of the native tribes and warriors but the demoralising effect of constant casualties cannot be over ruled, Alexander did announced his intention to withdraw and as Arrian has put it the only defeat he suffered was in the hands of his own troops ‘I observe gentlemen that when I would lead you on a new venture you no longer follow me with your old spirits’[65]. Indo-Gangetic plains were ruled by ‘Aggrmes’ or ‘Xandrames’ but the fact remains that all fighting took place in the present day Pakistan frontiers. [66]

The ferocity of the resistance offered to him in the Indus valley do reinforce the theory about the fighting capability and the ability of the Harappa culture but strangely again there is no mention of them in the Greek historians record , what is recorded are very minute details; the number of the boats which Alexander had for his downward journey; over 2000 with 200 elephants,83 oared galley’s and 1,20,000 troops. Alexander in his farewell gift to his friend Porus made him the king of the India with over seven nations and having over 2400 towns under his control.

Alexander’s Retreat, 325 BC - Multan- Thatta-Mekran.

Alexander’s retreat on the Hydaspes was full of danger many a battles and skirmishes were encountered in the way although he had both banks secured with his infantry marching in some cases ahead of his flotilla and in others following him to avert any surprise from the natives, the local forts which have been termed as the villages were reduced with violence yet the present day city of Multan and its inhabitants Mallians brought a catastrophe on the Alexander personally and over his army as well, Alexander was critically wounded in the citadel of Multan and the casualties which were suffered by the natives between the start of his retreat from Hydaspes till the crossing of Multan are in excess of 80,000 more than suffered by any other place in India or in adjoining Afghanistan and it was not the end Alexander was constantly harassed by the riparian tribes forcing him to get down from his flotilla and pursue them on land with cavalry thus suffering more casualties and causing havoc on the natives yet unable to break their will to fight, that was the finest season of Indus Valley ‘s history, this continued all along the Indus including the ancient towns of Mohenjo-Daro and KotDijio as well as the tribes of Baluchistan. Alexander at more than two places left his troops and lieutenants on the banks to construct towns and harbours . It took ten months of river sailing before he reached Pattalla the present day Hyderabad or Thatta he camped and made two expeditions into the Arabian Sea before settling down to travel all along the coast line towards the west with the help of the guides including his Indian friend Calanus, his fleet sailed in 325 BC ,this land journey must have taken him from the present day Karachi because it seems improbable that Alexander took his army into the hilly terrain adjoining the western boundary of the area around Karachi. He marched in the present day Bela ,Kalat ,Makran{Gedrosia} ,Gwadar area constantly harassed by hostile population, scarcity of water was so acute that Alexander’s troops again mutinied for drops of water and later plead guilty and asked for clemency which was given , the monsoon rain also played havoc during which in one instance even the royal camp was washed away along with many women and children ,it

[64] Ibid,p-284
[65] Alexander the Great speech recorded by Arrian,p-292.
[66] Ibid,p-5,9,16

should be noted that over 1,00,000 troops and camp followers were with Alexander in this retreat and almost an equal number or less left in the boats through the sea route. Alexander regarded himself lucky and offered many sacrifices en route and at the end because Darius when he invaded India was able to leave with only seven companions.

Impact of Alexander on Pakistan's Military History; Martial Race Concept.

When Alexander the Great was knocking on Indus Valley's head in 327 B.C. Indus Civilisation had no unity other than they all dwell on the banks of River Indus but their valiant stand against Alexander the Great becomes a historical entity that stands valid even today. Semiramis and Darius, Kings of Persia also had made an invasion of Indus Valley almost 500 BC but Semiramis was lucky to be able to take flight with 20 people thus this resistance to Alexander was not an isolated feature rather a continuity of history.

Alexander the Great's campaigns in India written by his own countrymen' many authors have written the about Alexander and how one account differs from other'[67] brought forward certain facts which in a way corroborates the early oral history of the India which primarily was the history of the Indus. Alexander's history brought to notice the northern area of the India as well the tribes of 'little account'. ***The fighting character of the region is martial in nature as dictated by the constant battles offered to Alexander despite very high rate of attrition.*** It confirms the existence of the martial civilization not only in the ancient town mentioned in Vedas and which were excavated in 20th century but also bring to the fore new town like Multan and Pattalla and adjoining tribes . The key factor of blue eyes of the certain races of the India which hitherto has been associating themselves with the Alexander and his conquering armies especially the people of Kafiristan and certain Pathan tribes seems to lack logic in the light of above mentioned evidence, the theory that lost soldiers of Alexander took residence in the mountains that fell in the route of his advance especially the Swat-Dir and Bajour lacks arguments because equal number of soldiers were left in the Indus Valley and along the Indus river it self and more important in the coastal area as well but there the people are even today black in colour and hardly ever any person is found there with blue eyes; unless all such persons and their descendants were killed in the subsequent years as a mark of disgust or revenge.

One of the dilemma of countries that have existed as one unit and later form separate identity is the inheritance of the military culture; East & West Germany, North & South Korea, North & South Vietnam, Republic of Ireland & Northern Ireland, Egypt, Syria, Jordan & Israel are few of the examples which readily strikes out. Pakistan is in fact Arya Desh[68] of 1500BC, Sindhu Desh of 1000 BC and India of Herodotus 400 BC. Gangetic Plains civilisation transitioned from Brahmanism to Buddhism under Asoka in 260 BC. Asoka had declared non violence as the state's policy, and Gangetic Plains or for that matter whole of India suffered from this policy. Aryans or Indus Valley accepted Islam {712 -755AD} after hard fought battles because it was close to their culture, social life and beliefs, Indus Valley have a notion of superiority over the other eastern riparian cultures and that was exhibited by the almost nine hundred years of rule {970 AD-1857 AD} by the Western India over the rest of India.

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[67]Arrian is universally regarded as the most authentic, Starbo, Pliny, Ailianos, Athenaios, Orosius and Arrian all wrote the history of Alexander the Great.

[68]Arya Desh was the name of India, Northern Tribes call it India or Hindu as noted by Hsin-Tu in 7th AD,.Chinese called India as Shin-Tu see James Legge, *A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms The Chinese Monk Fa-Hien of His Travels in India &Ceylon AD 399-414*,{Oxford,1886},p-26.also see Jhon Keay History of India{Grover,NewYork,2000},p-57, word for river in Sanskrit is Sindhu.

Geography accorded Indus Valley as the starting point of history, the Greek campaign brought with it the best of other civilisations in the form of artisans and ideas something which the Gangetic Plains lacked and this flow of civilisation thus travels from west to east and it continued uninterrupted till 18th Century when British {European} started consolidating their hold over India ; they move westward from Brahmaputra and Gangetic plains and finally reached the Hindukush in 1893. They had some of the fiercest and disastrous campaigns of their military history in Indus Valley.

Historically Indus Valley has not only been the ruling elite of India but also the backbone of its military, it is academically difficult to ignore such a distinct militant culture. Present Pakistan – India relationship are nothing else but millenniums old rivalry between Indus & Ganges; both countries have been resorting to war {1948, 1965, 1971, Siachen 1982, Kargil 1999}on regular basis. The current resistance to American & NATO forces is almost a replica of natives opposition to Alexander The Great in the same geographical area{Bajaour}. Pakistan is compelled by the historical current to have an aggressive posture towards any aggressor or invader.

Alexander campaigned almost through all the present day provinces of Pakistan and was ferociously contested everywhere; therefore the notion of martial race certainly applies to the people of Pakistan. It is but logical to assume that Pakistan is a militant nation historically and will resist any foreign rule or domination. Acquisition of nuclear weapon technology is a living proof of this current of history; very few Republics in world do have such virile military strategic culture. Greek expedition brought fruits of civilisation to the Indus Valley and as the expeditionary force remained confined to Indus Valley thus this benefitted Indus intellectually and militarily more than the Gangetic Plains or the Brahmaputra Delta.

Social life of India

The account of Greek historian in highlighting the social aspect is chiefly derived from observation of two riparian civilisation namely Indus and Ganges ,to Greeks , Indians seems to be highly civilized , dark in colour short in height and slim in frame, there is hardly any mention of the white colour by the Greek historians, there were class systems in India, with Brahmin being held in high esteem and having the liberty to take anything from the market without any payment, this is quite similar to the pattern in the Nile Valley where the priests were offered daily milk and meat , the mode of transport for the nobility was horse and not one but four horses as riding on one horse was quite undistinguished in nature, camels were also use for transport ,elephants were the mode of transport for the king and the rajas, footwear was made of white leather with heavy soles to increase the height of the person, white dress made of cotton and wrapped around the lower and upper part with a head gear was the standard dress code, people tend to spend the hot summer day under the shade of trees with span so wide that ten people could sit under it. Parrots were trained to utter human language,tiger was regarded by the Indians as much more powerful than elephant[69]

Women and all the other population exhibited high virtues, Indians have been depicted as healthy mainly due to their simple diet and absentee from wine, the doctors specialized in every part of the body and disease, the nuisance and hazard of snakes and

[69] Alexander histories & fragments,p-132,quoted by Nearchus.

scorpions was manifold as they were found under every stone and caused painful bleeding from pores and ultimately death ,yet the local doctors with the help of the herbs were able to cure that ,another method of relieving the pain was through singing which was performed by natives all over India,Suttee was practiced . Brahmins took part in the public life and acted as advisors to the king and all of them lead austere life, men used to dye their beard in various colours like red ,green ,white and purple , men also wear jewellery especially earing made of ivory. 'Men are taller than any other Asiatics most of them being over seven feet or not much less…the finest fighters to be found any where in Asia at that time'.[70]

Indian soldiers were divided into cavalry and foot soldiers, a foot soldier carried a shield in his left hand ,a sword and a bow which was as large as himself ,the arrows sharp and nothing can resist an arrow from an Indian bow[71] the foot soldiers also carry a javelin{ not all} their swords were heavy and during striking he will use his both hands for the purpose. The cavalry had the horses which were not saddled and neither had the harness rather they had their own peculiar iron bit, the horsemen would have a small shield.

Aryans or Indus Valley accepted Islam because it was the closest to their culture, social life and beliefs where as the Gangetic Plains civilisation had become Hindu, before embracing Islam the Aryans displayed traits of their manhood culture and respect for women and this has been recorded by the historians. Thus Indus Valley had a notion of superiority over the other eastern riparian cultures and that was exhibited by the almost thousand years of rule of western India over the rest of India, thus creation of Pakistan becomes a logical deduction of the parting of ways by the Indus Civilisation, the separation of East Pakistan into Bangladesh can be seen in the same contest, the Indus Valley inhabitants cannot live with other riparian's on equality or being subservience to them, Brahmaputra Civilisation was more in number but mere numbers cannot subdue Indus Valley inhabitants and this will remain the pattern in sub continent, the moment Jumna-Ganges got hold of nuclear weapons and upset the historical inferiority in same very moment the Indus Valley also conducted nuclear test there by resorting millenniums old superiority. Alexander the Great's expedition in present day Pakistan has thus played a key role in developing our history.

Asoka,

After the retreat of Alexander the upper India came under the Chandra Gupta Maurya in 321 BC who has been quoted by many historians to be present at the court of Alexander at Taxila along with his friend and mentor Chankya Kautalya, the Chankya was a Brahmin in the court of Nanda and was reportedly insulted and in retaliation was keen to take the avenge and this brought these two together and their first attempt at creating a rebellion failed however they learned from a boy eating the bread and as such planned their next move in a way that they instead of toppling the empire from centre started from the outside and were succeeded and as such the very first Indian empire of a magnitude was created and more

[70] Arrian,p-261.
[71] Lost Histories,p-129

importantly the very first treatise of politics and warfare was written by the mentor who became the vizier or the king maker, this work in Sanskrit was discovered almost two thousand years later in Madras when accidently the palm leaves were handed over to the chief librarian however the tests reveal that the work is more than the labour and thought of one person but that has been the constant irritant and shortcoming of the Indian history however when the work is treated at par with the other works on India then one at least get a fair idea of the working pattern of the Mauryan Empire[72], Chandragupta was succeded in due time by his grandson Asoka but before that it is recorded in history that Chandragupta was able to defeat the Greek military governors in a battle which possibly took place either on the banks of the Jhelum or the Indus and with the account of the events it is veery much possible that it was a minor affair because Chandragupta did gave some elephants as a token of respect to the greek ruler of Bactria{northern Afghanistan] and in return was accepted as the sovereign of the almost whole of Afghanistan including Kandahar ,both Indian and Greek also bounded themselves in act of matrimony in which the daughter of the Greek Seleucedes was given in marriage to Chandragupta, Alexander had left his viceroys in the India however not much of history is available from them one of the envoy or ambassador was Megasthenes who wrote Indica[73] and like the earlier history of Alexander it is full of contradiction ,Megasthenes talk of proud bearing possessed by the natives ,the dionosos is again highlighted 'made his appearance from the west ….head of a large army …which suffered from heat and retired to the hills'[74],yet the gold digging ants and the men with eight toes in the feet who ate nothing and drink nothing who have no nostrils but orifices is something which is highly illogical and as such renders the whole history as a matter of fantasy, the biggest omission is that of Naga Parbat and other peaks it seems absolutely out of place and sense that these peaks are over looked in any of the annals of the history writing, probably the Indus was not yet trekked to its mouth which is also illogical in nature but so far there seems to be no concrete evidence of any such venture.

Asoka enthroned in 260 BC, his greatness and his impact is not only in the vast empire which he created and left ,not only in the fact that he seems to be the very first ruler not only of India but of the known world who detested the violence and the misery which the conquest brings in the aftermath, and all this is known to us through his pillars ,his edicts his laws and orders which were engraved on the rocks in all corners of his empire and thus he has has been able to preserve the history of the India of that unknown period through a medium which is more reliable than the Greek historians account of fantasies and myths. these edicts were first attributed to Asoka in 1837[75],his major edicts are spread and erected in Kandahar, Shahbazgarhi near Peshawar, Manshehra in the west of India with minor edict at Topara, Delhi, bhabru,Sanchi in the centre to Maski in the south, there are fourteen major rock edicts, eight minor rock edicts and inscriptions and seven major pillar edicts ,these edicts have preserved the history

[72] Nehru ,p-116
[73] MegasthenesIndica fragments translated by
[74] Ibid.
[75] Keay history of india .p-88

On conquering Kalinga the beloved of god felt remorse….slaughter,death and deportation of the people is extremely grievous to the beloved of the gods….this inscription of dhamma has been engraved so that any sons or great grand sons …should not think of gaining new conquests ….they should only consider conquests of dhamma[76]

Over hundred thousand people were reportedly killed in this campaign of Asoka thus it was the deadliest conflict of the history till that time and as such emperor felt a remorse, he became a Buddhist and adopted a non violent policy or dharma as the philosophy of his life and government and this policy seems to be the driving force of the India from him onward and India had to pay a heavy price for this, it seems to be the dilemma of humanity that abstain from violence has much more serious repercussions for the society as a whole than having the violence as way of life and this was aptly proved in the coming centuries rather it will not be out of the contest to point out that for over 1500 years the India suffered from this policy which should have been the policy of all humanity but sadly it was not and still is not.

Sakas, Khushans & White Huns

The five hundred years after the death of Asoka has been described by the historians as the 'dark age of India'[77] 'one of the darkest in the whole range of Indian history'[78]. India after the Asoka plunged into anarchy with a wave of invaders invading in succession and on regular basis from the northern India to be more precise from the north western ,if history is to be taken as a yard stick of the past events and it is believed that it repeats it self than there is little to imagine that these invaders were nothing else but the descendents of the Aryan race which had uprooted the Dravidians from the Indus valley and they did the same in these centuries ,these were the people who lived in the high plateaus of the central Asia where they lived in the nomadic style of society but one fact seems to be quite obvious that they did not shared the philosophy of non violence but who knows because our knowledge of them is feeble and we can only assume that they were violent in nature and in this we are not off the mark because if we lack the evidence of their invasion in 1500 B.C., and in the centuries immediately prior and after the birth and death of Christ then our knowledge of their atrocities and love of warfare as shown by the Mongol invasion of the 12th century and the turk slaves invasion of India in thec tenth century is a logical explanation for the violence which must have occurred in that era. These people and tribes wee the Sakas, Khusahan and Parthians. The empire of the Asoka was broken down in the feudatories mainly on the fringes of the empire, Kashmir and Afghanistan which was not yet Afghanistan as it is known to us today but all along the mountains of Himalayas and the Caucasus there were independent lords who with every passing year desecned down to the extent that Sakas were fully entrenched in the east of the Indus thus the boundary of Indus as the barrier between the Aryavarta and the invaders diminished, our knowledge about these invaders is based not on

[76] Ibid,p-92
[77] Ibid,p-101
[78] History & Culture of the Indian People, Volume 3,Classical Age, Munshi,Majumdar&Pusalker {BharatiyaVidya Bhavan,Bombay,1954],p-xlii also see Nehru ,p-127

any text or rock edict but on the coins which have been unearthed so far and will be in coming years these.

Sakas ,Parthians and Pahlavas were all inter related to each other, where as Sakas are believed to be coming from the Bactria the Parthians are believed to be Persian tribes, their route of invasion are also debatable with scholars citing the either Bolan or Khyber Passes as the likely routes along with Kashmir [79]. The invaders were not restricted to the old armies of the Greek and Persia but the Chinese tribes of Yeuh-Chi also had their share they were known as Khushanas or Kanishke. They were in power over the north western part of India the present day north Pakistan between from 78 AD onwards till 260 AD, they had Kashmir{Ki-Pin}Bactria{Ta-Hia} Kabul{Kao-Fu} and India{Tien-Chu under their suzerainty, The rising power of the Persian Sassanian under Ardashir led to Kushans downfall , Sassanian were soon in control of the Balkh, Merv and Khorasan. Thus the Sassanian were having the rule over Western India including Makran and Sind, in Punjab independent feudatories were established by the Kushan chiefs namely Shilada ,Shaka and Ghadara clans apart from having seat of power in the Peshawar

The influence of religion on these was profound the only religion which at that time prospered was Buddhism because it had the royal patronage ,the initial friction which the established Brahmins had towards the equalitarian preaching of the Buddha was completely overturned by the Mauryan dynasty in which the founder is reported to have died in the cave and Asoka made it a state religion the similar pattern would be repeated in the Jerusalem almost two centuries later when Christ would be initially hunted and then after almost three years after his crucufication the Romans would embrace the religion as the state religion and in return the Jews would be persecuted however for the time being thee are no records which shows the persecution of the Brahmins in the India. The first Buddhist pilgrim or the missionary is reported to have set course for China in year 65A.D.they were monks Dharmaraksa and Kasyapa Marangaand they set the first monastery in China[80] they followed the route of going to Peshawar- Jalalabad- Bamiyan crossing Caucasus into Bactria and then through Pamirs round the Takla Makan desert across Lop nor a journey of 3000 kilometers or 1600 miles, however these Buddhist monks also adopted a route which primarily took them all along the Indus river to the China after crossing the Karakorum mountains, one cannot pass a judgment with certainty on the time at which these monks went through this route and more so at what time in history they opted to go along the Gilgit River which joins the Indus almost at the mid of the journey from Taxila towards the China .

In all the records of the history evaluated so far the absence of any expedition towards the origin of the Indus has been missing and this vital link cause a doubt on the authencity of the accounts even when these Bhuddist did went towards the china on this northerly route still there is no mentioning of the Nanga Parbat which is one of the highest peak in the world the omission of such a landmark is puzzling. The engravings of the Buddha

[79] Foreign influence on Ancient India,K.C.sagar{Northern Book Centre,New Delhi,1992},p-121-122.History of Ancient Iran Volume 3 Part 7, Richard Frye{Ballantine,Colchester,1984}p-178.. Ancient India Social History some interpretations{Orient longman,Hyderabad,1979}p-157

[80] India,Keay,p-112-114.

are in the present town of Gilgit and also in the Skardu both these towns are over 4000 feet in elevations Skardu is well over 5000 feet ,also importantly the sacred rock of the Hunza which lies at the edge of this track on the bank of Gilgit river which however at this point is called by its name is a logical evidence of the Buddhist presence in the region but when it happened is not certain, the **sacred rock of Hunza** has been called as the ' veritable data bank of ancient kings, cults and passing strangers' however this is opinion of Keay is not shared by others most notably Colonel Durand who spent five years in the same area while establishing a British Agency in 1892,on the other hand the rock at Skardu is well documented ' It is situated at the mouth of a ravine leading upto the Deosai, a great rock thirty feet high by some fifteen feet wide…on the principal face is a figure of the seated Buddha'[81].

Under the **Samudra Gupta** all this was part of his empire, the India historians highlight the fact that it is possible to point to this with an accuracy and fullness of detail rare in in ancient history[82].In the year 400-411 A.D., a Chinese travellor **Fa-Hien** travelled in India which was being ruled by the Chandra Gupta II, {no relation with the Chandra Gupta of Mauryan dynasty} Gupta was a petty chieftain who acquired and then expanded an empire which became the biggest since the Chandragupta however this Chandra Gupta II was the son of Samudra Gupta. Fa Hien narratives are the first recorded record of any person highlighting the mountainous city of the Skardu{Iskardoo} although I still find it hard to believe that Fa Hien actually went and stayed in Iskardoo for the reason that he has although brought to notice the 'venoumous dragons which when provoke spit venom' and also the difficult and rugged path he had to follow to reach the Taxila from the Skardoo and enroute he mentions of a rock 10,000 cubits in high along the Indus but still it not convincing enough of his going through the Skardu and then following the Indus all along downstream to the plains and reaching the taxila ,he for the record does not name the Skardu city rather he spoke of six countries which he entered after Khotan[83] .{The other notable Chinese travelers which left a record of their sojourn were Hiuen Tsang 630-45 A.D., and ITsing 671-95 A.D.,}

The White Huns who were also a nomadic tribe like the Sakas and the Kushanas these Huns had migrated from their home land of China in two major groups the one headed towards the Volga and other towards the Oxus,the Huns in the Oxus by fifth century AD were a powerful entity and from their founder attained the name of Ye-Tha, Hepthalites or Ephthalites and the Greek referred to them as White Huns[84], they were initially repulsed during the time of sakanda Gupta in 460 AD when they were defeated probably near Taxila because they already had the Gandhara under their control, another army of the same Huns had also attacked the Persians and their they were able to kill the king and capture the throne of Persia in 484, there is uncertainty as to whether the defeated Huns went to Iran or the they stayed in India as the previous all defeted armies did so, the conduct of war at that time is shrouded in mystery because the Indian historians do mention of inflicting a crushing defeat yet keeping in mind the philosophy of Dharma it is not beyond reason to believe that the

[81] Making of Frontiers .Colonel Durand,p-128
[82], India,Majumdar, p-12
[83] A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms the Chinese Monk FaHien of his travels in India & Ceylon A.D., 399-414, translated and annotated by jamesLegge,professor of Chinese in Oxford university{Oxford,1886}pp 21-26.
[84] . India ,Majumdar,p-34 also see Keay ,p-117-134

Huns were allowed to retain t a certain area with them in another hypothesis it is very difficult to finish of an army in totality had that been the case it would have been part of the history,the Huns were now fully established at Balkh before they made their next move towards the India; in 510 under their leader Torramana they came down through the Kashmir valley and routed the Indian military near Gwalior which indicates that they had the territory west of Indus under their control already ,Toramanna thus becomes the first of the foreign ruler to have a large indian territory under his control he had United Provinces, Kashmir, Rajputtana and, Punjab and Madhya Pardesh and after the death of **Torra Manna** his son Mihirakula ruled not only India but Ceylon and southern India which makes him the most powerful Indian emperor of all time with Sialkot as the capital which is at the base of Kashmir therefore it leads to the deduction that Kashmir became the base of these Huns probably because of the weather and more importantly it kept their rear protected however it was their defeat from the joint Persian and Turks in 563-567 on the Oxus which finished their rule in India ,they also suffered a military defeat from the Maukharis of India ,however again keeping the past history as the guideline it is logical to believe that these Huns settled down in the India and the mountainous territory therefore the theory of the blue eyed generations of the present day Pakistan northern areas is not only linked to the Greek soldiers but also with the Huns.

Chapter IV - Abrahamic World

Islam{ literally means submission to the God } played a decisive role in the subsequent history of India from its inception to present day , its impact and effects were cardinal shaping the history and future road map of almost every human on this earth, within the context of this research it is vital to have the basic fundamentals of its faith and history before moving forward. Like all other religions it was presented by a human being and originated from the Arabia the land between the Nile and Mesopotamian civilization. It is a historical coincidence that the very first monotheistic religion took its birth in Mesopotamia in the city of Ur when Abraham preached the one ness of the God and more importantly the covenant with God was established which required every male to be circumcised{ Genesis 17:7-8} and this passed in an oral tradition which presently is known as the Genesis[85] {in the beginning} or the Old Testament and the faith is known as Judaism, later Moses became another key figure in the Judaism, this new faith borrowed heavily from the old tradition in the creation of the universe especially the concept of a universal flood in which Noah in an almost identical pattern to the Gilgamesh took relief on a boat along with all kinds of creature, one striking feature of the new faith was its absolute disliking of pig and its meat{Leviticus 11:7-8}, so much that in one incident seven brothers willingly accepted death in front of their mother but did not touch the pig meat and later mother also accepted death by

[85] "**Abraham**." *Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica Online Academic Edition*.Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 2012. Web. 01 Mar. 2012.

fire yet did not ate pig meat, it just highlights the severity of the faith, the new faith also forbid eating the meat of camel and the fat of goat ,ox and sheep{Leviticus 7: 23-24}.

Jesus of Nazareth was a carpenter by profession and it is the believe of the Christians that he is the son of the creator because Jesus's mother Mary was a virgin,Jesus in his short life span of almost thirty years[86] rocked the very foundation of the Judaism which was by that time was an established religion and after having seen its zenith for almost a thousand years was now suffering under the pagan Romans who were ruling the fertile crescent and Egypt , the sacred city of Jews Jerusalem was under them, similar to the religious history of the past the priests established themselves as the cardinal figures in the Judaism , the ceremonies and rituals were elaborate requiring gold ornaments and very strict inspection of the sacrificial animals a reminiscences of the Nile valley rituals, Jesus challenged all these and was accused of blasphemy which in Judaism means death, the Romans were forced to crucify the Jesus when the rabbis of Jews opted to have a criminal Barabbas being pardoned instead of Jesus ,it was the custom of the Romans that they used to free one prisoner every year and this time the Jews condemned Jesus.

Christians later suffered under the Roman Empire and were prosecuted, it was in the reign of Constantine {312-337} that Christianity was accepted as a state religion the edict for religious tolerance was issued in 313.

Muhammad{pbuh 571-632 AD} was born in Mecca ,in the tribe of Qureish a ruling clan his father died before his birth and he was raised by his relatives, as a young man he travelled for business with the caravans and it was in this that owner of caravans Khadija who was a decade elder to him and who by most accounts seems to be of Jewish origin proposed Muhammad{pbuh} who was 25 years old at that time,it was in his fortieth year that Muhammad{pbuh} received the divine call ;message was not different from the existing Judaism which in reality revolves around oneness of God, Muhammad{pbuh} was persecuted for his preaching and so were his followers whom many migrated to the neighboring Abyssinia where they got sanctuary under a Christian king and when the Qureishdemanded the return of these fugitives and argued that these Muslims do not believe in Christ the Muslims refuted the allegation and affirmed their faith in Christ as a prophet of God ,from this point on ward Muslims and Christians enjoyed a healthy and mutual peaceful co-existence[87]. On the other hand the Jews of Medina also came to the rescue of Prophet and his followers and invited him to Medina an adjoining town. Muhammad migrated to Medina in the year 622 and from this date onward the Muslim calendar originates {Hijra or A.H.}Muhammad{Pbuh} had an exciting life in the Medina he was free to preach his religion and also to establish a kind of Islamic republic, with in this period the skirmishes took place between the Muslims and the Meccaian idolaters, Muslims raided on the caravans of Mecca and thus disrupted their economic life line in retaliation the Meccaian forces twice attacked Medina,all in all Muhammad{pbuh} himself lead in as many as thirteen campaigns . The relations with Jews took a worst turn when their conduct and allegiance to the Muslims

[86] "**JesusChrist**." *Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica Online Academic Edition*.Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 2012. Web. 01 Mar. 2012. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/303091/Jesus-Christ

[87] Medieval Islam, Gustav Grunebau, p-34, 44,66 & 210

became dubious the reasons were either economic or the religious differences or a combination of both as eating of camel meat is forbidden in Judaism but Islam does not have any such restriction; Muslims attacked their stronghold of Khaiber[88] in 628 AD and by religious creed the Jews were declared that they cannot become a friend of a Muslim although in strict terms it is still lenient as no enmity was declared [89] . Muhammad{pbuh}triumphantly returned to his birth place in 630{ Mecca} and with a combination of diplomacy and force he won the hearts and soul of the people ,he forgave all the enemies of his faith who in any case were his kinsmen and before he left on his final eternal abode in 632 he gave a comprehensive sermon in Mecca declaring that all men are equal and none is superior to the other on the basis of their color or caste and what differentiates the men is their conduct. Islam as a religion is based upon Koran the words of God as spoken by the Muhammad{pbuh} 'you {Muslims} are the best community evolved for the mankind,enjoining what is right and what forbidding what is wrong'[90] {Koran 3.110}

Islam almost in every field is an advanced version of Judaism and Christianity .The laws of Islam does not vary much from the laws of Moses as both detest eating of pig meat idolatry and adultery, whereas the punishment for an adulteress is death in Judaism the same is applicable in Islam, the difference lies in the extremity of the laws whereas in Judaism the King Solomon had seven hundred wives ,Islam restricted it to four however in term of idolatry the reaction of both is same, Christianity does not change much in nature from the Judaism after all the Jesus said ' I have not come here to change anything ….everything which was said before even the comma stands as it is'{Matthew 5:17-19} however the one change that is visible in Christianity as compare to the Judaism is the tolerance of the adulteress women basing upon the Jesus's reaction to the treatment of Lady Magellan ,Islam and Muslims benefitted both from Judaism and Christianity ,Prophet {Pbuh}was circumcised and every Muslim is circumcised even today although it is not written or given as a law in the Koran yet it is one thing which is common between a Muslim and a Jew basing upon the covenant of Abraham with the God. Thus Muslims had a very good rapport with both Abrahamic religions however the political environment of Medina pitched Muslims against the Jews which resulted in fierce battles between these two and Jews were exterminated from the Muslim world in a social manner,yet they and Christians were allowed more freedom and peace within the Islamic world as compare to what they each allowed the other in historical time span. Islam tolerated these religions as 'people of book' and placed them as Dhimmi[91]{ protected} in which they were allowed to carry out their own local affairs ,freedom of worship, collection of taxes for the religious places by agreeing to pay additional tax, this takes birth with earlier Islamic agreements with the Jews and Christians of Arabia and were formally regulated under the Caliph Umar {634-644}, later Zoroastrians also came under this by declaring that they are also people of book, however in later years there were certain restrictions placed on Dhimmi which included that they cannot ride upon noble animal like

[88] The Dhimmi ,Jews & Christians, p-47 also see A History of Islamic Societies, Lapidus ,p-24
[89] Oxford encyclopedia of Islam, Volume 2, p-382,
[90] Ibid,p-245
[91] The Dhimmi,p-48

horse and camel[92], there was another concept known as 'Mawali' which placed non Arab Muslims to be attached with an Arab tribe as clients[93]

The Rise of Islamic world

Is spectacular in every sense, within two decades after the death of the Muhammad{Pbuh} Islamic forces in a two pronged advance captured southern Palestine in 633 under Amr Bin Al Aass and simultaneously they also captured the Mesopotamian frontier under Khalid Bin Waleed in 633, later both forces combined to inflict a decisive defeat on the East romans in the Battle of Ajnadin in 634, Damascus falling in the same year, the final defeat on the Romans was inflicted in the Battle of Yarmukon 20th August 636[94] , similarly the Persians were routed in Battle of Qadisiyah {636/637}Jerusalem was captured in 638, Babylon fell on 9th April 641, Egypt in 642 and last Persians resistance was over come in 642 at Nihavand ' victory of victories'[95], in all these battles Muslims suffered only one major setback and that was in the hands of the Persians in 634 which is known as Battle of Bridge. The Persians{Sasanids} under Yazdigird retreated east ward similar to what they did in front of Alexander and in very similar manner Yazdigird was assassinated at the extreme end of his empire seeking the help of Central Asian Turks and his son Firuz later attempted to seek the help of Chinese also in struggle against the invading Muslims and this is how the Muslims reached Central Asia in hunt of Firuz. Nothing parallels the phenomenal spread of Islam within decades the two most powerful empires of Roman and Persians were exterminated from the region ,the Romans lived for another few centuries but Persians were made part of history.

But Islam itself by then by had been divided into the sectarian issues, the second caliph **Umar** was assassinated by a Persian slave on the instigation of another Persian[96] on 3rd November 644 he was only fifty three years old, he was followed by **Uthman** as the third caliph amidst controversy , he was also assassinated while reciting Koran at the age of eighty in June 656, however this time the assassins were not foreigners rather they were Muslims and included the son of former caliph Umar as well allegedly with the tacit support of Ali ;during his twelve years of reign he was opposed by **Ali** who succeeded him as the fourth caliph. Supporters of Uthman and his kinsmen which included Muawiyah already governor of Syria were blunt in reaction and demanded justice which included apprehension of caliph's murderers, Ali's reaction was rather lukewarm and this infuriated Aisha the wife of late Prophet{pbuh} resultantly the two faced each other in the **Battle of Camel{656 AD**}, Ali was victorious and he with due respect send Aisha back to Medina[97], this was just the tip of ice berg as Muawiyah refused to pay homage to Ali and another battle took place between them at Siffin in 657AD with no clear result , Ali was assassinated in 661AD while he was

[92] Ibid,p-63
[93] The Cambridge History of Islam, Volume 1, The Central Islamic Lands,edited by P.M. Holt{caambridge, 1970},p-52
[94] The Muslim World, Part 1, age of Caliphs, BertoldSpuler translated from German by F.R.C. Bagley{Leiden,Brill,1960},p-19
[95] Cambridge History of Islam, p-61
[96] Cambridge History, p-67, it is debated whether the slave was Persian or Christian for this see Muslim World 1 Age of Caliphs,p-30
[97] Ibid,p-70

offering the prayers ,the caliphate was now with the Muawiyah as Ali's elder son forfeited his claim to the caliphate and later **Yazid** son of Muawiyah ascended to caliphate but he was challenged by the second son of Ali, Hussein who marched towards the Kufa with his family and small bands of followers numbering not more than two hundred but they were slaughtered by the Yazid's forces near Karbala in 680 with only women and children escaping the death who were made prisoners ; it rocked the Islam at its roots and till do date Islam is divided on the lines of people who believe that caliphate was the right of the Ali and his family and others who deny this, the followers of Ali or the family of prophet as they later came to be addressed as '**Ahlebayt' are known as Shias** which literally means followers ,party ,group, associate ,partisans or supporters[98] .The Umayyad's { Muawiyah dynasty}later hunted the Shias and Ali was cursed from the pulpit of the mosque,

Shias themselves split into factions one sect supporting the surviving family of Hussain which included his son Zayn Al Abidin and others favoring the third son of Ali named Muhammad Ibn Al Hanafiyah who was from another wife and proclaimed him as Mahdi. Apart from these direct descendants of the Prophet{pbuh} there were others who opposed the rule of Umayyad and these included off springs{Abd Allah IbnZubayr} of the companions of the Prophet{pbuh}, family members of Prophet{pbuh} from his uncle Abbas and other known as **'Kharijites'** , thus a series of civil wars erupted all across the Islamic empire with more brutal fight taking place in Mecca{692 AD} which was sieged and shelled there by damaging the places of worship the man who restored the Umayyad rule{ Abd Al Malik Marwan r 685-705} was Hijaj bin Yousaf, in later period one of the dissenting group Karamities were able even to take the very 'Black stone' away from the Mecca and kept it hiding for a quarter of century

By 750 AD the Umayyad caliphate was exterminated by the family of Prophet{pbuh} known as **Abbasids** the division among the Islam became complicated in terms of followers of Ali ,who were now believing that Mahdi who died in 700 has not died but rather has gone into occultation or hiding and will appear soon for the justice thus two very fundamental concepts of Shias developed the '**Gaybah**'{hiding} and '**Rajah'** {return}. One sect of the Shias{Zayd the second son of Zayn Al abidin} accepted the legality of the first two caliphs but refuted the legality of the third[99] he also asserted that Imam has to physically assert his imamate and , he and his son Yahya were both killed by the Umayyad's, another sect **Ismailia** emerged named after the son of the sixth imam who had nominated him as the successor but Ismail died in his life and thus his elder brother Musa became imam but one group of followers remained firmed in their belief that Ismail is the seventh imam, and the third sect believes in the twelve imams and are known as the Ithna Ashariyah ; their faith revolves around the twelve imams starting from Ali but they believe that the twelfth imam Muhammad Al Muntaza who disappeared in 874 AD has not died but has gone into hiding and will appear on the day of judgment{ this imam Mahdi should not be confused with the earlier Mahdi the third son of Ali}

[98] Oxford encyclopedia of Islam, Volume -1,p-55
[99] Ibid,p-58

Thus Sunnis believe that religious guidance and authority can be taken from the companions of the Prophet {pbuh} or in the form of Ijma {collective} decision taken by the Ulemas{religious} people and they also legalize the authority of all the four caliphs but deny that Prophet{Pbuh} designated Ali as his successor ; where as the Shias not only insist that Ali was designated as the Caliph but also refute the legality of the third caliph apart from holding the view that caliphate should only belong to the family of the Prophet{Pbuh}[100]. In later years the division between these main streams of Islam became wide and by 20th century there was little in common between these two, the Shia offer their prayers three times a day where as the Sunnis do it five times a day, moreover a shia will place the dust of Kerbela in front same hold true regarding the alms giving which is one of the cardinal faith of the Islam[101]

In the context of the sub continental history and especially of Gilgit the history of Ismailia's need more elaboration, they ' nothing is known about the Ismailia from its origin until after the mid-ninth century when the Ismaili's emerged as a secret revolutionary movement…leader claiming to be acting upon behalf of absent imam Muhammad son of Ismael'[102]the continuing sects among Islam first resulted in the liquidation of the Umayyad by the Abbasids and only member of that family Abdal Rehman was able to escape and establish an empire in **Spain{755-56AD**} , another split between the Shias resulted in Ismailis being able to set up an empire in Egypt known as the Fatimid and further split in the Fatmid resulted in one sect becoming **Naziris** and the other becoming **Druze** and Mahditis, the Fatimid empire was over ran by the Saladin .Cairo was established by the Fatimids

Abbasids also were intolerant of the Shia dogma and persecuted them with various level of force ,it was under them that the shrines at Kerbala were destroyed and visits were forbidden , Abbasids later laid the foundation of the Baghdad .

Indus Valley

On the eastern end the situation the conquest of Indus Valley started in 711 when Hijaj Bin Yousaf send his nephew a seventeen year old general Muhammad Bin Qasim in a two pronged advance, Qasim literally followed the footsteps of Alexander's retreating forces for his invasion his one wing advanced through the sea route and the other came overland, Sind was conquered in 711 and later Qasim had to face his fate in which on the words of the Hindu raja's daughters he was put in a sack and transported to Kofa where he died, by 1000 AD the Indus Valley up till Multan was under the Muslim rule and a vast majority of the natives have embraced Islam ,the reason for conversion was rather simple as Muslims unlike

[100] Oxford Islam,Volume-4,p-140

[101] Bombay high court reports ,reports decided in the high court of Bombay 1866,Daya Muhammad & others Vs. Muhammad Hussein and others ,p-333 also see gazetteer of Sind by E.W.Aitkin 1817 and 1907 edition ,p-160

[102] Oxford, encyclopedia Islam,Volume 2,p-341

all other predecessors gave three choices to the conquered population which included embracing of Islam and becoming a member of the society on equal terms ,accepting the status of Dhimmi by paying additional tax or to accept the fight.The faith of the people by the end of the millennium was leaning more towards the Shias' in the Indus valley

Conquest of Central Asia

The very first Islamic army had knocked on the doors of the Central Asia when they were in the hunt of the Firuz, Muawiyah had appointed Ziyad Ibn Abihi as governor of Mesopotamia and Persia and he retained the office till his death in 677 [103]and they settled at Merv by 646,later due to internal strife not much of progress was made but with the coming of Hijaj a renewed effort was made, it must be noted that much of the opposition to the Ummayad regime came from the Central Asia and Abbasids were able to laid the foundation of their empire on the vigorous efforts of Abu Muslim who started a rebellion in Khurasan in 746 and in 750 in a decisive battle on Tigris {16-25 January 750} ended the Umayyad rule forever in Mesopotamia but he was later assassinated by the Abbasids. In Turkistan the land of Turks which bordered the frontiers of the Persian empire had been made free by the Turks from the Chinese suzerainty in 682

Qutaibah ibn Muslim was made the governor of Khurasan the north eastern part of Persia who between 710-715 conquered the Central Asia especially the Bactria and Ferghana valley the heart land of the Turks , Samarkand and Bukhara came under Muslim rule in 715,these Turks were nomadic tribes originating from the Mongolian steppes and one the tribe Ye Hu was able to establish himself in the Jaxarates {Amu Darya} area. In 751 AD a decisive battle between the Muslims and the Turks who also had the support of the Chinese army as well put an end to the Chinese rule in the area for another thousand years. These Turks became an elite force as due to consistent civil strife the Caliphs at Baghdad felt the need to have a force which should be above political alliance for their personal security, with the passage of times these Turks became the king makers and Seljuk Turks were the first one which entered Baghdad and were granted the titles of Sultan ,these Turks however retained the Caliphate to the Abbasids but were the real power behind the throne. Another of these Turks established the first Islamic dynasty in Central Asia under the name of Samanids which were eventually overpowered by the Oghuz Turks, from these Samanid Turks emerged the Ghazna Turks which shaped the destiny of the India for another five hundred years.

Chapter V. Turk

The founder of the dynasty was Sebuktegin {r 977-997AD} a Turk slave who rose to distinction and it was he who like earlier Aryans claimed his territory to the natural boundary of Indus , This frontier including Kabul were under Hidu Shai kingdoms. He first invaded

[103]The Muslim World, Age of Caliphates, p-37

India and defeated the Hindu Shahis { 989 & in 991} who gave tribute to Ghazna, after his death his son **Mahmood of Ghazna** continued the conquest{ 1000-1030}, the striking aspect of the successive humiliation of the Hindu states year after takes the art of warfare to new heights, it is amazing to draw a conclusion with the character of the Hindustani militant reaction to the Alexander The Great which finally worn the will power of his Macedonian soldiers, the psychological impact on the over all population must have been devastating as it created a myth of geographical superiority between the plain dwellers of Punjab , Sind, Deccan, and Ganges Valley who were ruthlessly being subdued by the mountainous people , the nomadic tribes and Turks were after nothing else but nomads, wealth taken at will from the Hindu temples help him create the Ghazna culture which became the symbol of the Turkish people, on the historic note it was the culmination point of the Aryans who almost 2000 years ago humiliated the Dravidians, this time they built Ghazna seat of first Islamic Kingdom of Hindustan, notable historian Al Berouni was able to write down the history of the regime and the social life pattern of the India. India in practical term was just a vassal state of Ghazna. As its very capital of Harsha empire Kanauj was sacked by him in 1018 AD in which the rajputs displayed their honour of committing mass Jauhar {suicide} after defeat, in 1024 Mahmud's most severe psycholigal blow came with almost 500 miles deep expedition to the southern Dravidian sacred temple at **Somnath**

' *it had 1000 Brahmins,300 barbers and 350 temple prostitutes in constant attendance and its chief idol a huge lingam the phallic symbol of Shiva was washed in water from the sacred Ganges carried over 750 miles….* '[104]

For Hindu nation it was a knock out blow an ultimate of Dravidian culture's and religious surrender, the destruction of the myth and symbol of Brahmin and Hindu identity was is mental surrender state of mind from which Hindus never recoverd right at the end when India was divided on the religious line .Mahmud did not destroyed because it refused to pay the protection fortunes a or they held any thing in hiding but the fact that temple was destroyed because it is against the fundamental faith of Islam, thus Muslims developed an inherent superiority over the natives religion and Hindu nation

The civil strife among the Turks at Ghazna resulted in the burning down of the Ghazna as a scene replted twice of the burning of Rome a thousand years earlier, Mahmood descendent took refuge at Lahore and thus the old historical capital of the Punjab shifted from Sialkot to Lahore.

Slave Dynasty, World's First

The very first Islamic army had knocked on the doors of the Central Asia when they were in the hunt of the Firuz the emperor of Persia , Muslims had settled at Merv by 646 AD. Qutaibah ibn Muslim was the governor of Khurasan the north eastern part of Persia, who between 710-715 conquered the Central Asia especially the Bactria and Ferghana Valley the heart land of the Turks , these were nomadic tribes originating from the Mongolian steppes

[104] A History of Asia Volume 1, Formation of Civilisations from Antiquity to 1600. Woodbridge,Hilary& Frank { Allyn,Boston,1964},p-208

and one of the tribe Ye Hu was able to establish himself in the Jaxarates {Amu Drya} area, *Turk was the name given by Arabs to all nomadic tribes of Central Asia thus it does not represent any particular ethnic tribe*[105]. There is not much of difference in calling them Aryans as well. Kabul came under Muslim control in 655 AD from the infidels but went out of the Islamic sphere in 700 AD. In 751AD, a decisive battle between the Muslims and the Turks who also had the support of the Chinese army, not only the Turks were defeated but it also put an end to the Chinese rule in the area for another thousand years. Resultantly almost all Turk tribes accepted Islam. The warfare at that time in this particular area was being fought on two varying principles and dogmas, on one hand , it was the lust for loot, political influence, allegiance and loyality to the tribe and the chief. Only Chinese were having a regular army in modern sense, as it was an empire being run on the imperial directives. Turk tribes on the other hand were based upon valleys, nomadic in nature with having summer and winter abodes, to them warfare was a necessity. Islamic army, on other hand, must be having the similar dispositions, yet as Islam was in infancy , thus the religious fervor was the driving force, warfare was being conducted on the Islamic principles, which gives options of either embracing the religion, agree to pay a extra tax for protection , or better to embrace Islam and becomes one of the ruling elite, without any discrimination.

The present day Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province {KPK} was in anarchy, Aryan fiefdoms, it was now a combination, a hybrid of civilization, Greek , Aryan which were taken and written as Hindus, and finally the Mongols.

Ghazna was taken over by the Islamic army in 870 AD. Turks established the first Islamic dynasty in Central Asia under the name of Samanids, from these Samanid Turks emerged the Ghazna Turks which shaped the destiny of the India for another five hundred years. The founder of the dynasty was Sebuktegin {r 977- 997} a Turk slave who rose to distinction and it was he who like earlier Aryans claimed his territory to the natural boundary of Indus , This frontier including Kabul were under Hindu Shai kingdoms. He defeated the Hindu Shahis { 989 & in 991} after his death his son **Mahmood of Ghazna {971-1030}** continued the conquest{ 1000-1030}, the striking aspect of the successive humiliation of the Hindu states year after takes the art of warfare to new heights.

‘ Bhut Shikan’.

It is amazing to draw a conclusion with the character of the Hindustani militant reaction to the Alexander The Great which finally worn the will power of his Macedonian soldiers, the psychological impact on the over all population must have been devastating as it created a myth of geographical superiority between the plain dwellers of Punjab , Sind, Deccan, and Ganges Valley who were ruthlessly being subdued by the mountainous people , the nomadic tribes and Turks were after nothing else but nomads, wealth taken at will from the Hindu temples help him create the Ghazna culture which became the symbol of the

[105] The Muslim World, Age of Caliphates, p-37

Turkish people, on the historic note it was the culmination point of the Aryans who almost 2000 years ago humiliated the Dravidians, this time they built Ghazna seat of first Islamic Kkingdom of Hindustan, notable historian Al Berouni was able to write down the history of the regime and the social life pattern of the India. India in practical term was just a vassal state of Ghazna. As its very capital of Harsha empire Kanauj was sacked by him in 1018 in which the rajputs displayed their honor of committing mass Jauhar {suicide} after defat, in 1024 Mahmood's most severe psychological blow came with almost 500 miles deep expedition to the southern Dravidian sacred temple at Somnath ' *It had 1000 Brahmins,300 barbers and 350 temple prostitutes in constant attendance and its chief idol a huge lingam the phallic symbol of Shiva was washed in water from the sacred Ganges carried over 750 miles….*'[106] For Hindu nation it was a knock out blow an ultimate surrender of Dravidian culture's and religious surrender, the destruction of the myth and symbol of Brahminic and Hindu identity was a mental surrender state of mind from which Hindus never recovered right till the end ; when India was divided on the religious line in 1947 . Mahmood did not destroyed Somnath because it refused to pay the protection fortunes , or they held anything in hiding but the fact that temple was destroyed because it is against the fundamental faith of Islam, thus Muslims developed an inherent superiority over the natives.

This worship of Siva, under the type of the Linga, is also, perhaps, the most ancient object of homage adopted in India, subsequently to the ritual of the Vedas, which was chiefly, if not wholly, addressed to the elements, and particularly to Fire. How far the worship of the Linga is authorised by the Vedas, is doubtful, but it is the main purport of several of the Puranas—such as the Skanda-Purana, the Siva, Brahmanda, and Linga Puranas. There can be no doubt of its universality at the period of the Mohammedan invasion of India. The idol destroyed by Mahmud of Ghizni, was nothing more than a Linga, being, according to Mirkhond, a block of stone of four or five cubits long, and of proportionate thickness. The passage from the *Rozet as Sefa* (cited in the Asiatic Researches, vol. 17), runs thus:—"The temple in which the idol of Somnath stood, was of considerable extent, both in length and breath, and the roof was supported by fifty-six pillars in rows. The idol was of polished stone, its height was about five cubits, and its thickness in proportion: two cubits were below ground. Mahmud having entered the temple, broke the stone Somnath with a heavy mace; some of the fragments he ordered to be conveyed to Ghizni, and they were placed at the threshold of the great Mosque."

Another authority, the Tebkat Akbeeri, a history of Akber's reign, with a preliminary Sketch of Indian History, has the following:

"In the year 415 (Hijera) Mahmud determined to lead an army against Somnath, a city of the seashore, with a temple appertaining to the followers of Brahma; the temple contained many idols, the principal of which was named Somnath. It is related in some histories that this idol was carried from the Kaaba, upon the coming of the Prophet, and transported to

[106] A History of Asia Volume 1, Formation of Civilisations from Antiquity to 1600. Woodbridge,Hilary & Frank { Allyn,Boston,1964},p-208

India. The Brahminical records, however, refer it to the times of Krishna, or an antiquity of 4000 years. Krishna, himself, is said to have disappeared at this place.

"When the Sultan arrived at Neherwaleh (the capital of Guzerat) he found the city deserted, and carrying off such provisions as could be procured, he advanced to Somnath: the inhabitants of this place shut their gates against him, but it was soon carried by the irresistable valour of his troops, and a terrible slaughter of its defenders ensued. The temple was levelled with the ground: the idol Somnath, which was of stone, was broken to pieces, and in commemoration of the victory, a fragment was sent to Ghizni, where it was laid at the threshold of the principal mosque, and was there many years."

Ferishtah, the historian, supplies a much more graphic, if not reliable account. He says: "When the garrison of Sumnat beheld their defeat, they were struck with confusion and fear. They withdrew their hands from the sight, and issuing out at a gate towards the sea, to the number of four thousand embarked in boats, intending to proceed to the island of Sirindiep. But they did not escape the eyes of the king. He seized upon boats which were left in a neighbouring creek, and manning them with rowers and some of his best troops, pursued the enemy, taking and sinking some of their boats while others escaped. Having then placed guards round the walls and at the gates, he entered Sumnat, with his son and a few of his nobles and principal attendants. When they advanced to the temple, they saw a great and antique structure, built of stone, within a spacious court. They immediately entered it, and discovered a great square hall, having its lofty roof supported by fifty-six pillars, curiously turned and set with precious stones. In the centre of the hall stood Sumnat, an idol of stone, five yards in height, two of which were sunk in the ground.

"The king was enraged when he saw this idol, and raising his mace, struck off the nose from the face. He then ordered that two pieces of the image should be broken off, to be sent to Ghizni, there to be thrown at the threshold of the public mosque, and in the court of his palace. Two more fragments he reserved to be sent to Mecca and Medina. When Mahmood was thus employed in breaking up Sumnat, a crowd of Brahmins petitioned his attendants, and offered some crores (ten millions) in gold, if the king should be pleased to proceed no further. The Omrahs endeavoured to persuade Mahmood to accept the money; for they said that breaking up the idol could not remove idolatry from the walls of Sumnat, that therefore it would serve no purpose to destroy the image, but that such a sum of money given in charity, among believers, would be a very meritorious action. The king acknowledged that what they said was, in some measure, true; but should he consent to that bargain, he might justly be called a seller of idols; and that he looked upon a breaker of them as a more honourable title. He therefore ordered them to proceed. The next blow having broken up the belly of Sumnat, which had been made hollow, they discovered that it was full of diamonds, rubies, and pearls, of a much greater value than the amount of what the Brahmins had offered, so that a zeal for religion was not the sole cause of their application to Mahmood."

Ghazna is almost on the extreme western edge of the Indus Valley frontiers, Mahmood followed the Kaitu River to cross the Hindu Kush, the tribes inhabiting the Tochi

Valley became his striking force, most ruthless, brave and brutal. Before Ghazna was destroyed by the neighboring Islamic Ghor dynasty; all the areas of present day Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province less Hazara area were part of the empire. ' The tract now included in Peshawar District formed a part of Ghazni province'[107]. India also passed from the hands of the Ghaznavids to Ghorids.

Ghazna for next two hundred years remained the power center initially it was captured by the Khwarizms in 1215, later Mongol in 1221 occupied it, came back under Turk control in 1224 and Saifuddin became its governor who also incorporated Karman {Kurram} and Banian{Bannu}. In 1239 AD, Mongols came again and Saif fled from Ghazna but kept his hold on Banian, .

From 1206-1526 A.D. India or more specifically all the three riparian civilizations { Indus – Ganges – Brahmaputra} were under the control of Muslims who were chiefly Turks, Afghans and Pathans later this was overthrown by the Moghuls who descended down from Central Asia. The rule of Delhi Sultanate[108] is divided into following dynasties. Mamluks 1206-1290 A.D. Khiljis 1290 – 1320 A.D. Tughluqs 1320 – 1414 A.D. The Sayyids 1414 - 1451 A.D. and Lodhis 1451 – 1526 A.D.

Mamluks ' Slave Dynasty' 1206 – 1290 A.D.

Shahab Uddin Ghori {1149-1206} had annexed Punjab and appointed governors for India, Ghori himself was assassinated in 1206 , when Ghori was going back to Kabul after a successful campaign against the rebels in present day Jhelum District. {Hydaspes of Alexander}

Shihab ud din Ghori had no male heir, he had appointed three governors in occupied India, Qutub Ud Din Aibak was given the rule of Jumna/ Ganga Valley, Nasir al Din Qabachah was made the governor of lower Indus valley and Taj al Din Yaldiz was given the helm of affairs of Karman and Sankuran. Aibak was made governor of Delhi in 1192 A.D. with instructions to made conquest further east[109]. All these Turk governors were related to each other through intermarriages which took place on the command of Shihab Ud Din Ghori. Aibak was married to the daughter of Yalduz similarly another daughter of Yalduz was married to Qubachah apparently Shihab Ghori had the idea of creating peace among his governors through these marriages but it did not worked the way he had thought as soon after his death the civil war broke out among these chieftains for the control of the power. Yalduz occupied Ghazna, Aibak declared himself sovereign in Ganga and so was Qabachah in Sind or lower Indus. Aibak was regarded very high by the late Shihab Ghori and his rank was raised.

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[107] Diwan Chand Obhrai, The Evoloution of North west Frontier Province, 1938, {Peshawar, Saeed, 1982,}p-11.
[108] The rulers who ruled India before the Moghuls have been termed as Delhi Sultans and the empire is termed as Delhi Sultanate.
[109] Agha Hussain Hamdani *The Frontier Policy of The Delhi Sultans*, Pakistan National Institute of Historical & Cultural Research {Islamabad,1986}.p-39.

Kutub Ud din Aibak {ruled 1206-1210} short rule , today have one lasting monument, the 73 meters high Qutub Minar at Delhi, Aibak himself died while playing polo at Lahore. His own mausoleum is hidden inside the old Lahore Fort, in a poor condition, I last visited in 2010. He was succeeded by his son, who was shortly overthrown by governor of Punjab Qabachah . Later Kabacha was defeated by Altitmush. After Altitmush, his son Feroz was made the sultan, he ruled for mere six months before he was put to death. The council, comprising of forty royal slaves, now took an extra ordinary step, a step which is monumental in not only in Indian political and social history but also of world, when Razziya Sultana the daughter of Altitmush was made Sultana. The history becomes more interesting when , Razziya Sultana, the Empress of India, fell in love with a Negro slave officer, this love affair caused a rebellion in army which resulted in the death of Razziya and her brother Behram became Sultan . he was succeeded by his son Firuz , who was succeeded by his son Masud

History of Mughul Kings as Narrated by Them

Mughuls ruled India for almost three hundred years in varying capacity, the dynasty was set into motion by Babur of Fergana in 1527 AD followed by his son Humayun and crown remained in direct bloodline till 1857 when the monarchy was abolished by the British East India Company. The dynasty is important from historical perspective as almost all the emperors left behind their autobiographies and one odd exception that of Akbar the Great is overcome by his court historian's histories.

Mughuls are Aryans, they belong to Turk ethnic group, and they were settled in the Central Asia or more precisely Eastern Turkestan which comprised of Samarkand, Bukhara, Fergana, Tashkent, Kashgir cities. They were in area between River Oxus {Amu Darya} and River Jaxarates{Sur Darya}. They are the natives of the Western Hindukush and only Wakhan strip separates them from Chitral , Hunza, Gilgit onwards to River Indus. Mughuls can be classified as one of the Aryan tribes the last one to migrate from the highlands towards the green pastures of Indus Valley. Geography plays key role in the classification and grouping of people and tribes. Language, customs, ritual and above all religion binds them together. Mughuls or eastern Turks embraced Islam in a gradual manner. After the initial battles with Arabs the area remained under their jurisdiction before Genghiz Khan brought the downfall with a revolution in military affairs; the world's first blitzkrieg. Under his reign all Muslim Turks became his subservient and joined his army. Tamerlane's grand father had a convention engraved in iron under which the ruler would always be from the family of Gheniz Kahn and command of army to be with Turks more specifically Tamerlane's family. Great Khan 'Temujin' had divided his empire which at time comprised of China, Central Asia, Middle East, Afghanistan among his three sons. Present day Afghanistan, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, were all part of Chagtai Khanate. It is this very khanate which has been affecting the history most, even at present and in recent history the most volatile region in world is this Chagtai Khanate.

The whole Chagtai Khanate was Muslim by faith following Hanfaai & Malaki sect , which is more liberal in interpretation of Islamic laws for instance almost all Mughul emperors were fond of liquor yet detested pig meat on religious grounds and even in dire hunger never took it, Babur was bi

sexual in orientation[110]. They would pray and give alms, keeps fast in the holy month of Ramadan and sacrifice lambs in Zi ul haj month. Family life was important to them and they seldom left their wives for long, always respectful of in laws. They were gentlemen in nature, adhering and following a code of warfare based upon the Temujin's Code and that of Prophet Muhammad {pbuh} directives. One of the fundamental aspect of Islamic warfare is deception 'War is nothing but deception' and Timurids followed it by spirit. Assassination was a common method to remove the leader by any means; poison was most favoured method. Battles were fierce and had to be fought with a character; the life of the vanquished depends upon his conduct in the battle he had recently lost. The looser had to put the grass in his mouth to show his surrender. Courtesies were immense, a khan or mirza would greet the equivalent by receiving him almost two miles ahead of his camp. Nine to twenty five were the numbers of the greetings done by touching own thighs in front of khan and then stepping back. Headgear was important and none was seen without it, khans would send the caps as mark of respect and gift to fellow family members. Food was in shape of meat and fruits. Villages established on relatively high ground, in the form of forts having a canals running through it in most of cases or erected close to water source. Revenue was limited but it was there, taxes were imposed on the cities and towns. Pay to soldiers remained centred around the loot. These Turks were generous , they had the custom of giving away most precious gifts on hearing good news especially birth of their sons from messengers while in battlefield.[111]

Amir Taimour - Tamerlane,1336-1405 AD.

Dynasty traces its bloodline to Amir Tamerlane who was born in Samarkand, he practically destroyed India in 1399 when he invaded it. India at that time was ruled by the Muslim dynasty of slave kings belonging to Ghazna. Tamerlane believed that nine out of ten issues confronting a state can be resolved through deliberations and consultations the tenth issue requires a sword for resolve. Tamerlane's rise to power is phenomenon because he set on his history making course with only 243 men[112]. Tamerlane himself admits that he went through lot of deliberations before undertaking any expedition , notably he would reject any issue which had two prong danger and preferring the one with lone danger. He would only listen to advice which he believed was based upon sincerity; rejecting anything which may cause demoralising of his army. Another key characteristic of his life was his believe and faith in religion, he would consult the Holy Koran before undertaking any important task . He did so when Tughluq Taimour summoned him for expedition to Khorasan.

In a strange twist of fate coupled with the wisdom, real politick, and craftsmanship Tamerlane turned the tables on his would be conqueror. He bribed the invading chiefs to just give him enough time to meet Tughlaq Taimour; he met him and won him over by having the royal charter of kingship of Maraw Ul Nihar in his name. The waiting chiefs revolted against the Tughlaq on learning this . Later Tughluq nullified his earlier charter and appointed his own son Ilyas Baig as the ruler of Marwa Ul Nihar. This is which put Tamerlane on run for another two years. Running from mountains to deserts to valleys. He was soon left with seven followers out of which three did not had the horses thus one night they simply stole the horses and deserted Tamerlane. This was not the end of his

[110] *Tuzk i Babri,* autobiography of Emperor Babur, translated from Persian into Urdu & English. Babur admits himself of falling in love with a boy in his youth; it seems normal then., p-9.
[111] *Darbar I Akbari*, history of Akbar the Great translated from Persian by Moulana Muhammad Azad, First edition 1910.p-6.
[112] *Tuzk-i-Taimouri*,Autobiography of Tamerlane translated from Persian by Syed Abu al Hashim Nadvi {Sange Meel publishers, Lahore, 2012}p,21.

troubles because after two days he was attacked by a local robber baron that captured Tamerlane and put him in a dungeon. After two full moon , Tamerlane finally got the opportunity to grab the guard's sword and killed him, he now ran after his captor and got him in one corner like a act. In the end Tamerlane did forgive him in lieu for money and horses. It was in events that occurred after this but related to this phase of Tamerlane's life that he was wounded in one of the skirmish with an arrow in his shoulder and in his feet . Tamerlane at this phase of life aligned himself very closely with the religion. He would pray all night and would often sleep after Fajr prayers. It was on one such occasion that he was offering the prayers when a troop of soldiers trottingly appeared . 'What are you looking for'? inquired Taimour as he steeped up from his prayer mat along with other few men of his. We are looking for the camp of Amir Taimour , replied the soldier still sitting on the horse , do you know where is it ? he inquired. Taimour after ascertaining about the intention agreed to take them to the camp of Amir Taimour while still hiding his identity. End of the day , Taimour had been recognised by his old servants and fellow men, he was installed as the Amir of the rebel army which numbered now around four thousand ; this was the turning point in history as from here onwards it was the rise of Tamerlane. He eventually confronted Ilyas Baig who was also in his hunt and in a masterpiece of military tactics nullified Ilyas's numerical superiority by taking up position on high ground and later bleed to death his enemy through nebulous skirmishes; Ilyas Baig was finally killed by his faction and Tamerlane now had the Marva Ul Nihar under his sovereignty.

Tamerlane was a philosopher king of traditional class, the type which Aristotle had advocated. What separates Tamerlane from Alexander the Great was in the fact that where as Alexander was bachelor, Tamerlane was married and as such the role of in laws became more prominent in Tamerlane's life. Amir Hussain was his brother in law who caused maximum heartburn; ' I gave him the provinces of Balkh and Khorasan to please my wife...I respected my relationship with him..he was jealous of my rise to power', notes Tamerlane. The initial year of establishing his writ on the state he now rules is a masterpiece of politics; he seldom used violence rather it was the charm, charisma, love, affection, courtesies which won him his would be mutineers . Tamerlane pondered a lot over his strategy and realised that war is not the solution to end all his domestic issues for the reason that end result of any battle cannot be predicted before hand. ' I decided to be fair with everyone, thus i distributed all the captured wealth among my troops...I granted provinces to all leading khans...appointments to all powerful men'. Yet Tamerlane had one simple philosophy in running of a country , taht there can be only one king in it and rest all have to be subservient to him. Some of early acts of him are in this connection when he realised that he have to take action sooner or later end result was a consolidation of his rule. These early feats of Tamerlane are more famous for the presence of mind, endurance, personal valour and leadership, planning and calculated risks rather than pure violence which later became his trademark. Night ambush was his favourite tactics, brining and coaxing the enemy into narrow defiles and then attacking with sharpshooters was another. It is another historical coincidence that Nicolai Machiavelli the famous Italian political thinker wrote his Prince and Art of War soon after this period; it seems that Tamerlane was the role model of Prince.

With the death of Tamerlane {1410AD} the 300 years cycle of violence erupting from Central Asia seems to at its lowest ebb. The present day Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkestan were the theatre around which the cobweb of history was woven, there was no central figure of authority left. Tamerlane had nominated his son as his successor and power and authority remained with the house of Tamerlane. By end 15th Century or third generation ; small valley states emerged which were ruled by the Tamerlane blood line in varying off shoots, intermarriages among them by tradition had ensured that formal courtesies will be adhered irrespective of outcome on battle field. Ladies were especially royal family remained unharmed. Rape and loot was the main attraction of a campaign,

rape was less because the women could easily be turned into a slave girl. Food was scarce but fruit and animals in abundance there by maintaining a healthy balance diet. Horse was the key to success in every aspect of life , military was non existent in the form of a regular army rather a band of followers followed the Tamerlane's successors. In such background, in a small valley of Fergana, which is situated astride Amu Darya. It was narrow and had seven towns with satellite villages mostly on high grounds. Fruit was the main production and life pleasant. On the east Kashgir, on the west Samarkand, in the south Badakshan and in north the wild jungles belonging to Persians formed the boundaries of Fergana. Tamerlane had remarked that it was not enough to keep even half a dosen soldiers on permanent revenue.

Babur of Fergana. 1483-1530.

Babur's father Sheikh Omar was the ruler of Fergana and mindful of his area he made many ventures to capture adjoining areas who were ruled by his blood brothers, at one time he had Tashkent under his sovereignty. The art of warfare revolved around creating alliances which naturally meant more manpower , however in lieu Sheikh Omar had to give away many of his territories as payment. This custom remained in vogue for many centuries to come. Sheikh Omar was son of abu Saeed Mirza who was son of Sultan Muhammad Mirza, son of MiranShah { the famous town of MiranShah in North Waziristan} who was one among many sons of Great Tamerlane[113].

Humayun 1508-1556.

Humayun almost had a copycat life of his father Babur and that of Tamerlane. He lost his inherited, newly established kingdom in India to his half brother Kamran and military commander Pathan Sher Shah Suri who as a military governor revolted and Humayun had to conduct a retrograde operation which practically pushed him back into the south western desert of Indus in Sind. Humayun had only Delhi with him where as Kamran had revolted with Kabul and Lahore behind him, Sher Shah Suri was moving westward from Bengal in the east. Sandwiched between these two , Humayun squeezed out towards the south; the ancient Pattala of Alexander. Almost hundred miles east of River Indus is the ancient mud fort oasis of Umarkot. It was here that his son Akbar was born, a small cemented plaque between the Chhor army airstrip and the bazaar of Umarkot marks the spot where Akbar was born. Humayun was so penniless at the moment that he was unable even to celebrate the birth of his son.

Humayun crossed Indus and marched through the desert of death with his seventy odd followers including his newly born son and his beloved wife. The same very route was adopted by the British troops during the First Anglo Afghan War of 1839 with disastrous results; monuments still mark the graves of many who died while marching through this waterless , barren, hot, dry piece of land. Humayun was able to make it to Sibi almost two hundred miles west. Crossed Bolan Pass and following the present day route reached Kandahar. It is an epic escape, a classic by any standard; hats off to the ladies for withstanding all this torment. There was no army in hunt for Humayun but he was not welcomed by any, his half brother was in control of Kabul with Kandahar also in the orbit. Persian also had their influence stretching to present day Herat and Kandahar. It is worth highlighting that Humayun had a torrent love affair with his wife and seldom both were seen separate but now the turn

[113] Tuzk I Babri, Emperor Babur's autobiography, translated from Persian into urdu. Sange Meel publications 1985.

of after took them to the Kandahar .Humayun finally agreed to the advice of Bairam Khan his former military commander and close , loyal adviser to seek asylum in Persia and wait for the best. Humayun had the option of riding back to his father's home valley and seek help from his relatives. In the end Akbar was left alone with the servants and his parents set off towards Iran. The other side of history is that Akbar was left as hostage with the half brother and relatives of Humayun.

Humayun later came to India via Afghanistan , he captured Kabul in 956Hijra and

Akbar The Great 1542-1605.

Chapter VI

British East India Company

On 31st December 1600 A.D., Queen Elizabeth granted a charter to 'The Company of Merchants of London trading unto the East Indies.' On 11th January 1613 A.D., the Mughul Emperor Jahangir issued a firman to establish a factory at Surat to Captain Best the company's representative. In 1625 A.D., a trading centre was established at Masulipatam (Madras) and in 1634 a trading factory was established at Piplee (Bengal). Later these factories and trading centres were fortified and troop, some British some natives were employed for the protection, in 1698 A.D., a new Company of Merchants received its charter, and in 1708 A.D., both companies were amalgamated under the title of The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies or East India Company. Thus old factory areas became the presidencies of Bombay, Madras and Bengal each having its own army commanded by separate commander in chief who also was the president answerable to directors at London thus military and politics came under one head with sole aim of increasing the profit. By 1741 A.D., the Bombay Army had a battalion of troops consisting of seven companies and formal artillery was raised in 1748 A.D., in the same year Major Lawrence Stringer was appointed as the commander in chief of all the armies in India. Promotion was strictly based upon seniority, only in Bombay the battalion system was adopted in other two presidencies, the companies remained the basic unit. The feud between the French & British trading companies brought a larger influx of European troops into India and also an increase in the army of native soldiers. In 1754 A.D., the British and French troops clashed at Madras, in the same year the first detachment of Royal Troops 39th Foot arrived in India as reinforcement it also brought into effect the Mutiny Act into India thus the forces in India were divided into Royal Troops, Company's European Troops and Company's Native Troops. In 1757 A.D., the first Indian Regiment was organised onto European pattern it had native troops but officers were all British it was known as 'Lal Paltan' , it had three British officers several British non commissioned officers, 42 Indian officers and 820 Indian rank and file, the Paltan had ten companies. It also had an Indian commandant and adjutant.

In Madras six such battalions were raised in 1759 A.D., and in Bombay native battalions were raised in 1767 A.D., the man responsible for this pragmatic organisation was Clive known as **'Clive of Plassey'** in history. The officers of East India Company troops despite their seniority were junior to the King's troops and this created several mutinies among them mainly over pay the native Bengal troops also show their resentment mainly over the financial aspect. This resulted in reorganisation of the army in India in 1796 A.D., the number of British troops in India both company & King amounted to over 13000 where as the native troops numbered around 57000. Reorganisation resulted in decrease of native troops and increase in the number of British officers which were increased to 22 from the previous 12 per battalion. The system of two battalion regiment was also introduced. A colonel commanded the regiment having two lieutenant colonels, one for each battalion which also had one major, four captains, 11 lieutenants and five ensigns. The battalions were also numbered for the first time in this organisation. In 1824 A.D., further reforms were carried out in the army which resulted in the breaking up of two battalion regiment for the Indian troops it also necessitated renumbering of battalions the irregular cavalry regiments were also raised, the ratio of cavalry to infantry battalions was 1 to 7.

Sikh Empire {1799-1846}

Sikhism took birth in Punjab in 1520 AD and despite having Muslim sufi saints teachings as part of their religion they were prosecuted ruthlessly by the Aurangzeb and as such when the Abdalli's forces were marching back to the mountain retreat they were attacked by the Sikh bands. In 1799 the Sikhs finally captured Lahore and within years had the Kashmir, Multan and Peshawar under their control,for the first time in a thousand years the martial supremacy of the mountain dwellers of Hindu Kush was broken by the native dwellers of plains of India.

Sikhs did not had an easy and comprehensive control over the territory and people living on the Western bank of River Indus yet through a blend of diplomacy and militancy Ranjeet was able to have his forces in Peshawar[114] and for a short time had the control over the Khyber Pass as well. The Kabul and Lahore thus remained embroiled in a constant war of attrition. The tribes inhabiting the mountainous region remained independent and owed no allegiance to any ruler however the religious and ethnic commonality bounded them together against Sikhs furthermore the tribes internal feuds were such that they were erratic and unpredictable in their conduct, looting, levying of taxes on trade and forces passing through their area of influence were the cornerstone of their economy. Ranjeet Singh had kept the Kashmir under the Dogra rulers in a semi autonomous state. Kashmir at that time had no well defined boundary in the North ,West and East. Dogras expanded the frontiers of Kashmir in these three directions and were able to capture the Gilgit, Skardu, Laddakh and also made in roads into tribal territory of Marghalla and Hazara hills. Ranjeet Singh also staked claims on Eastern Afghanistan[115].

Sikh religion also took birth in Punjab in the same period and later expanded among the peasantry the Jats. Which in later years remained confined to Punjab and although there is a

[114] Khullar, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*. {Hem, New Delhi,1980}. pp-48-52, pp 121-129
[115] Miller, *Khyber*, p xv

considerable population of Sikhs in Canada and United Kingdom but these are the immigrants, no Sikh culture expanded into the Indus Civilisation, certain hill tribes of Kashmir most notable the Dogras of Jammu and Sandias of Poonch. During the reign of Jahangir the Sikh guru Arjun Singh[116] was tortured to death for his alleged support to the Jahangir's rebellious son Khurram was the historical accident as it put the Sikh religion against the Islam. Sikkim was influenced by the Islam in its infancy, the thoughts of Sufi saints Bullay Shah are integral part of granth sahib ,the foundation stone of Golden Temple the Mecca of Sikhs was laid by a Muslim saint Mian Mir, the land being given by Akbar the Great. The acts of Tamerlane, Jahangir and later Aurangzeb had two varying impact on the culture of the empire, a sense of deep insecurity was embossed on the non Muslims especially the Hindus and Sikhs on religious matters, on the other hand the supremacy of Islam and that of their non tolerance of other religions especially the brutality, ruthlessness and a disregard to humanity as displayed by the central Asian blood line rulers also created a superiority aura around the Muslims. Kashmir again displayed a unique sense of peace-loving Muslims living and ruling Hindus and Buddhists, Kashmiri Islamic brand was influenced by the Central Asian Sufi saints, this face of Islam was more tune to the geography of the mountainous region and more accommodative, yet it remained fundamental in nature, both Sunnis and Shias lived and fought on regular basis especially in days of muhaaram, the worst were the riots of 1886 in Srinagar.

In 1800 with Mughal emperor practically confined to Delhi, and rest of Punjab in a state of anarchy after the Abdalli's ravage of Delhi under the afghan governors at Lahore and Multan, a young Sikh ,Ranjeet Singh captured Lahore and became maharaja and the very first Sikh empire was founded that became a challenge to the Muslims, this Sikh empire that lasted till 1846,six more years then Maharajah Ranjit Singh incorporated, captured, annexed ,subjugated, ruled from Kabul{for a short period}in west ,Gilgit, Laddakh,Srinagar,Jammu in north ,Multan in south and under 1807 treaty with British East Company {the Christians who having arrived in subcontinent in 15th century from Portugal, Spain, England, Netherland and France as traders finally culminated in the superiority of the British soldiery ,firepower and discipline, who by this year were the kingmakers}that limits Singh's eastern boundary and influence till Sutlej. It was in 1820 that Ranjeet Singh was able to conquer the vale of Kashmir and later instead of keeping it under his direct control at Lahore; he rather made Ghulab Singh a Sikh Dogra chieftain of Jammu state. Statesman ship, diplomacy and bravery were the hallmarks of Ranjit Singh's rule and personality, he was handicapped with one eye, a fundamentalist Sikh yet as a ruler he set the very first example and conduct of a Sikh state and how the Hindus and Muslims will be treated in it and this later became a pattern in other Sikh states. Ranjit Singh had Muslim advisers most notable among them the Fakir brothers, Ranjeet was careful with money and instead of bearing the cost of garrisoning he preferred annual tax, he did this with Bahawalpur a desert state and mountainous Kashmir.

Ranjit Singh in a sense reflects the culture and mind set of a Punjabi who prefers his plain, green fields more than the mountains or desert, Punjabi lived on the land, irrigating it with ever flowing ever present fresh water of Kashmir. Ranjeet Singh did a lot to improve the irrigation system and so were the British who in 1846 were able to annex Punjab after a series of battles that took place at Chillianwala and Sobraon. Later both races, cultures and religions developed a deep trust and mutual respect for each others bravery and martial skills, at this decisive moment of sub continental history neither any Muslim nor any Hindu state came to the rescue of Punjab empire further more even raja Ghulab Singh remained aloof from this war, he was able to negotiate later the purchase of Kashmir Vale from British East India Company for 85 lakh rupees {present day US$1, 000, 00}.

[116] *South Asia Narrative*,,p,139

Ghulab Singh was as brave as Ranjit Singh, he had no other option but to expand and explore towards north, east and west as in south the British had the plains of Punjab. Ghulab Singh's forces majority of them Sikhs but also Muslims as well, captured Laddakh, Gilgit, and ventured into Tibet as well. These were the areas, cultures and civilisations about which very little was known in the west. The European continental rivalry had its effects on the India as well, first it was the threat of Napoleon in 1807 which compelled British East India Company to send diplomats and explorers into Baluchistan and make treaties with Sikhs,[117] it also resulted in the First Anglo Afghan war as well later the fear of Czars replaced Napoleon and with this shift in paradigm the Kashmir especially its north western borders assume greater urgency and a great game started Kashmir also became the focal point of India's trade with central Asia albeit as an alternative to the much easy and economical route that passes through Khyber or Bolan passes. Kashmir which was ruled by Dillip Singh after Gulab Singh and his heirs later buckle under Raj's pressure and British explorers were allowed map the territorial boundaries of the Raj's empire, to station the British resident and in 1895 to have a residency with British officer and Dogra troops at Gilgit.Kashmir and few other states like Hyderabad Deccan,Kalat among over 550 other states that ranged from few kilometres in area to size equal or more than the British isles had varying degree of autonomy depending on the financial and cultural mind set of Viceroy who was all powerful and all princely rulers owe their rule to the Crown.

Sikhism took birth in the eastern tributaries of Indus Valley, thus they are part of it. Muslim teachings and thoughts hugely affected the Sikh thoughts, it was a Muslim saint Mian Mir who laid the foundation stone of Sikhism's most reverend shrine The Golden Temple at Amritsar. Sikhism took birth in Punjab in 1520 A,D; and despite having Muslim Sufi saints teachings as part of their religion they were treated at times harshly by the Mughals notably by the Aurangzeb not purely on religious grounds but it also had the spice of royal politics as well. Ahmad Shah Abdalli's forces on their way back after plundering Delhi were attacked by the Sikh Misls . In 1799 Sikh's under Ranjeet Singh entered into Lahore and slowly but gradually the Afghan Empire started shrinking. In 1834 Sikhs overpowered Afghans at Nowshehra and Peshawar along with Kohat came under their control. It was at Jamrud in 1837 that this tide was checked and with the death of Ranjeet Singh in 1839 the Sikh Empire similar to so many other empires stared at the writing on the wall.[118]

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[117] Army Publishing House, *Campaigns of The Second Afghan War 1878-80*,pp25-37
[118]Khullar, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*. {Hem, New Delhi,1980}. pp-48-52, pp 121-129

territory and people living on the Western bank of River Indus yet through a blend of diplomacy and militancy Ranjeet was able to have his forces in Peshawar[119] and for a short time had the control over the Khyber Pass as well. The Kabul and Lahore thus remain embroiled in a constant war of attrition. Kabul.

Sikh empire had a short life but it had a deep impact on the coming events, it was an independent kingdom not subject to King of Delhi or the East India Company, Sikh at their own under some of the most brilliant generals including Hari Singh Nalwa took the Afghans head on and pushed them back. Ranjeet Singh was an able ruler and a shrewd one too, he had European officers as part of his army, he introduced the existing standards of drill and organization in khalsa army. One beauty of his army was its ethnic and religious composition , Muslims, hindoos and Christains all served together. The very fisrt governor of Peshawar was a French who was serving under Ranjeet.

Islamic Renaissance 1761-1849

. Islamic renaissance movements which started with the Shah Waliullah and reached its zenith under Syed Ahmed Shaheed has a profound impact on the history of the area. As we enter into the 21st Century it becomes obvious that the same places still have the same impact and issues also are not much different. Thus it is pertinent to have a brief history of the time. Islam came to subcontinent through the Sind and later central Asian Muslim invaders from Mahmud of Ghazni to Tamerlane and later the moguls made India synonym with Islamic heritage and icon of invincibility. The religion itself had many shades for a starter it adopted a humane and flexible approach towards the non Muslims who were simply kafirs because they did not belong to the people of book. The treatment meted towards the Persians in 640 AD onwards after their capitulation in the hands of Muslims served as a standing operating procedure, Muhammad bin Qasim married the daughter of defeated Hindu raja. Later Qasim had to pay a price in the form of his life when the same bride and her sister complained to the Caliph that Qasim has married both of them simultaneously which is against the Islamic rules. Qasim was reportedly sent back or received at the court tied and bundled inside a sack, he died quickly. There was something more to the causes of his death other than this marriage but it was still the root cause. The Islamic empire which was established by Qasim soon spread along the river bank of Indus as afar upward as till Multan. By this time in history the gulf was increasing between the friends of Ali known as shia and clansmen of Muawayya. Multan was a shia kingdom.

The Central Asian Muslims brought down their version of Islam which they have learn from the Arabs who first invaded the central Asia in 651AD. Central Asia or the Turks became the Caliph makers and their cultural heritage revolving round the mountains and horses was absorbed into the desert base tradition of Arab Islam. The Turk brand of Islam soon became popular as Sufism; a more liberal and musical based inspirational meditation. Central Asia had the past trade and commerce ties with India and as such this Islam was the state Islam. British or the Christians arrival change the scenario as these were the people of

[119]Khullar, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*. {Hem, New Delhi,1980}. pp-48-52, pp 121-129

book and as such different from Kafirs. More so the Islamic history is based upon the fact that the Christians helped Muslims in the early and difficult days of Islam. Akbar the Great was an emperor of extraordinary stature, he was ruling a country with two diversified religions along with numerable sects. Akbar built a hall of debate probably the very first of its nature by any emperor anywhere in the history, Akbar now had the religious debates among the Muslims , Christians and Hindu scholars ,listening to their arguments and counter arguments. In modern day it is similar to the parliament or judicial proceedings. In the end Akbar took the decision to introduce a new official state religion Din Ilahi {religion of god} in which he combined all the qualities of all the three religions, the important factor was the supreme authority of Akbar himself and the emperors to follow in the matters of religious disputes. At that time there was no concept of secularism anywhere in the world, the crusades is a classical example of the mindset of history of that period followed by thirty years war in Europe.

Mujaddid Alf Sani was the religious opponent who challenged Akbar's writ in this matter, he was a priest without any force of support of any kingdom and he was living in the same city as the emperor. It speaks volume of religious tolerance of mughuls that the emperor's religion had a natural death.

Shah Waliullah 1703-1762.

Qutab Din Ahmed Ibn Abdul Rahim known as Shah Waliullah has the distinction of saving the mogul empire for few more decades and destroying the rise of Hindus for another 180 years when India was given freedom. Shah Waliullah was also a religious thinker and preacher and it was he who invited the Ahmed shah Abdali to come down to India in the name of jihad. Abdali did acme and in the decisive battle of Panipat 1761 he inflicted crushing defeat upon marhattas. Shah Waliullah traces his bloodline to second caliph Umar. He performed his hajj in 1731 where he stayed for over a year, Shah Waliullah belongs to the Naqsbandia sect of Sufism.

Ibn Abdul Wahab 1703-1792, was an Arab scholar and religious reformer , he was at Mecca at the same time when Shah Waliullah was there and attended and received education from the same teacher yet both have not mentioned about each other in their work. Both played decisive role in the future of their respective motherland and on Islam. Ibn Wahab had a political pact with the Saud family of Najd, under which both affirmed to take up Jehad . This pattern was closely followed and applied by Syed Ahmed Barelvi Shaheed. Fundamentally the key difference between the Ibn Wahab's teaching and the practice of Islam in India was in the fact that in India the saints and their shrines along with their successors were and are still held in high esteem where as no such decorum is practiced in Wahabism also known as ahle Sunnah. Another prominent feature was their non acceptance of Shiaism.

1825-1849

Before the final defeat of Sikhs in the hands of British which resulted in the annexation of Punjab , the period from 1800 onwards is centred around the Mujahedeen movement led by Syed Ahmed Barelvi Shaheed. This movement has few distinctions, it was led by a non pathan with almost all key leaders belonging to the central India and they settled in the Peshawar valley in 1826 and later moved to the east of Peshawar valley towards the Mardan, Buner, Hazara valleys. They carried out a guerrilla war against the Sikhs and later against the British as well. It was the first movement which came from the east and roused the pathan tribes of Mardan and Peshawar Valley.

Syed Ahmed Barelvi Shaheed was a disciple of Shah Inaaytullah the son of Shah Waliullah. Syed Ahmed can be credited with arising of first ever lashkar in modern times on modern footing with sole aim of conducting jihad. Movement had many centers like Patna, Allahabad, Patli to name few. They opted to carry out this jihad against the Sikhs in Punjab and for this purpose an extensive training and organizational infrastructure was raised which even today is traced in many of the similar outfits.

Initially five hundred men were selected which increased to 1000 in coming days, they were organized into various categories. Jamaat Khas was the inner circle of confidants and loyalists an elite group which was responsible for the lodging and safety of Syed Barelvi , Muqdmet-ul-Jaish was the advance guard responsible for gathering information and leading the main force. Saqtul Jaish another group was responsible for the administrative and logistic, an arms factory was also established at Panjtar. Two other groups were also formed one known as the Maimna {right wing}and other as Maisra {left wing}these wee mounted mujahids. Training was as rigorous as in any of the regular regiment, fencing, wrestling, riding was paramount in nature. Propaganda was also catered for. Lowest structural unit comprised of 100 men with further distribution down to 25 men. They had evolved their communication signals and codes. For finances they did not had to look far, they would collect the zakat and ushur apart from other contributions from all over the India and it was properly audited and expanded. There were regional set ups which acted as the fund collection points and also to provide intelligence apart from caring for lodging of mujahedeen in time of hour.

Mujaheedin were given three pairs of uniforms and two pair of shoes annually and two cakes of soap weekly, there was no pay but lodging and boarding were free. There wee appointments as well namely as risaldar. Equipment included daggers, pistols and old vintage rifles, there was a separate armoury known as tausha khana. Flags played an important role in the organization, the Syed Barelvi had his own flag which was displayed only when he himself was participating in the battle other than this there wee few other flags all having Quranic verses on them.; they were known as Sibgullah, Matiullah and Fatehullah.

In 1825 Syed Ahmed in a careful and well planned plan moved out from his home base along with his followers with an announcement of going for Hajj in order not to create any eye brows raising. They travelled from Bareilly passing through Tonk and Sind and then

into Afghanistan and onwards to Mecca, after performing the hajj and it is apparent that in their stay at Mecca the whole party was influenced with the political and religious philosophies of Abdul Wahab. The Mujahedeen later returned to Afghanistan and settled down near Nowshehra for a face off with Khalsa army. Syed Ahmed was not alone in his resistance the afghans were also looking for a battle to settle the score with Sikhs. Initially the mujahidin resorted to hit and run, propagating their cause and calling people for jihad. Syed Ahmed was not wholly successful in his aim because Afghans were defeated by the Sikhs led by Bud Singh in a series of battles known as Akora and Hazro but they were defeated at Nowshehra on 20th December 1826 . Mujahedeen fought valiantly and it was their quality which made them acceptable to the natives. Sikhs still retained Barakzai brothers as governor of Peshawar. Syed Barelvi announced his imamat in February 1827 and established an Islamic Sharia at Hund. It was not very popular as it levied ushur n the natives and it resulted in the Syed Ahmed and his followers to move towards the aet of Peshawar valley into the Mardan and into the Panjtar which is located in Khadu Khel territory, here the very first fort was constructed. All the prominent leaders were non pathan which included Moulvi Waris Ali Bengali, Imam Din Bengali, Ahmed Ali Barelvi and Abu Muhammad Nasirabadi to name few. In December 1930 these mujahedeen confronted the Nawab of Amb and defeated him. These small skirmishes resulted in the overall superiority of mujahedeen and they were able to establish an Islamic Sharia in Peshawar with Mazhar Ali appointed as qazi but he was soon murdered by the locals, the issue was the cultural variation between the Hindustani Mujaheedin as they were known and the locals who incidentally were known as Wilayati Mujahedeen in the rest of India. This forced the Syed Ahmed to migrate towards the Kashmir for its eventual capture but on its way he clashed with Sikh forces at Balakot which resulted in his martyrdom and he is known as Syed Ahmed Shaheed till now, the battle took place on 3-6th May 1831.

After the debacle at Balakot the mujahedeen organization was disrupted for some time the leadership was passed on to another Hindustani Mujahid Sheihk Wali Muhammad patli. People of the area soon forced the mujahedeen to depart from the area and they wandered around in the east of Peshawar and particularly in Swat and Buner area. Issue of zakat and ushur were two fundamental points of difference between the locals and the mujahedeen. They crossed east of Indus and made the present day Manshera and Garhi Habibullah as their centre but same conditions moved them from here as well. They settled at Sittana on the west bank of river Indus and here at Battle of topi with local chiefs they suffered their defeat. In the same time period in the battle of Rojhan the Sikhs defeated the natives forcing the Sindhi Mujhaeedin to shift to Sittana also, the leadership was also passed to them namely Moulvi Dehlvi but soon it was passed to the two brothers namely Moulvi Inayat Ali and Moulvi wilayat ali. Under them the mujahedeen again recapture Balakot in 1845 aftr defeating the Sikhs. A short lived Islamic empire was established which is known as Landi Musalmanni in Hazara, in this period even Muzaffarabad and Fatehgarh were also captured from Sikhs. The captured weapons were distributed among locals on conditions that they will enlist in time of need. Financially tribute {khiraj}was collected from tribes, for instance Jadoon tribe paid Rs30,000 and Pakli paid Rs 26000, all in all tribute was collected from nine different tribes. The last battle between the mujahedeen and the Sikhs took place

in 1847 at Dub Pass close to Garhi Habibullah in which better tactics displayed by the Sikhs with Lieutenant Lumsden outclass the mujahedeen. After the battle the mujahedeen came across the Indus and settled in the Buner area making a fortified village, some of them also shifted to the Black mountains on the east of Indus.

Thus on the eve of British annexation of Punjab the main opposition was from the mujahedeen which were settled in the east of Peshawar. On the other hand the tribes of Waziristan had nothing to do with these mujahedeen so wee the other pasthu speaking tribes of Khyber. This area of mujahedeen in th Swat, Buner, dir, Hazara later became their stronghold with their leaning towards the Wahabism. Historically thus Frontier campaigns can be classified into two broad categories one which were sent to dealt with these mujahedeen , the most famous being the Ambella Pass and Black Muntains. On the other hand the tribes of Waziristan were led by their own khans which did not had the religious fervor or colour rather they wee fought and conducted on the tribal ego and pride without any central commander.

Annexation of Punjab & Sind

Disaster in First Afghan War led to fall of White racial superiority Myth a chain of events took place in which the **Sind was annexed in 1842**.

Annexation of Punjab 1849

After the death of Ranjeet Singh the Sikh empire collapsed after waging two wars against the British, First Anglo – Sikh War { 1845 – 1846 } which resulted in cessation of certain areas of Punjab to the British including Kashmir, the resultant Second Anglo - Sikh war {1848 – 1849} resulted in annexation of Punjab by the BEIC, with Sir Henry Lawrence {1806 – 1857} and his 'Young Men' now trying to govern the Punjab especially the North Western Frontier. Henry's brother John Lawrence was among those Young Men, he later became the Viceroy of India {1864 – 1869}. Among those Young Men who tried to solve the riddle of North West included Captain James Abbott { Abbottabad} John Coke { Coke's Infantry} Lieutenant Harry Lumsden { Corps of Guides } Captain Neville Chamberlain { Later field Marshall}. Political Agents John Nicholson { Nicholson Memorial near Islamabad}Lieutenant Herbert Edwardes {1819 – 1868} founder of Edwardesabad { Modern Bannu} Lieutenant WillliamHodson {1821 – 1858 } of 'Hodson Horse' & 'Guides Cavalry' Captain John Coke {1806 – 1897} of '1st Punjab Regiment' . They 'Young Men' raised the Corps of Guides in 1846 -47, the very first instance of recruiting the natives into a military organisation no matter how loose but still to work under the British Officers. Success of Guides led to formation of a separate force the Punjab Irregular Frontier Force{1849}, under

command of Punjab Government instead of Central Government at Calcutta[120]. Henry Lawrence's Young Men and carried out the administrative reforms in the frontier areas dividing it into frontier districts { Peshawar, Kohat, Hazara, Bannu & Derajat} acting into treaties, pacts and agreements with the native Pathan

Punjab was divided into ten administrative divisions each headed by a commissioner having two or three districts under him with a deputy commissioner in charge. Peshaawr Division was one such division and so was the Dera Jat which comprised of dera Ismail Kahn and Dera Ghazi Kahn. Bannu was part of DI Khan and only in 1861 it was given the status of a district.

Bannu

The city of Bannu is as old as Peshaawr and it is situated on the banks of River Kurram us such is composed of two different valleys namely the Kurram and tochi Valley both leading towards the Afghanisatan, Tochi leads to Ghazna and Kurram to Kabul. The northern frontiers of Banu are bounded by Koh Safeed and in south the Shawal valley, on the east the plains and Indus and on west the Hindu Kush mountain ranges. The area and the culture and demography is different from Peshawar Division or vale.

Chapter VII

Great Game ,The Rivalry Between Russia & British India.

The political and militarily rivalry of European continent also had its effects on the sub continental politics, initially British had apprehensions about the Napoleon's advance towards the India which were later replaced by the Russians after the treaty of Vienna in 1815.By this time in history the area West of present day Afghanistan was a conglomeration of independent small valley states all Islamic in nature like Khiva and Merv[121], these were captured by the Russians therefore British in order to keep an eye on the affairs wanted to have a friendly and a subservient ruler in Kabul which was under control of Dost Muhammad. British failed in diplomacy to achieve their aim and therefore the first Anglo Afghan war started in 1839. Ranjeet Singh did not allow troops of BEIC to march through his territory which was the most feasible in terms of logistics. The first Anglo Afghan war resulted for a brief time to have a friendly Afghan ruler ,the Shah Shuja at Kabul,

[120] Timothy Robert Moreman "*Passing It On The Army In India &The DevlopmentOf Frontier Warfare 1849-1947.*,Thesis submitted for the degree ofDoctor of Philosophy,King's College, University of London. pp 20-25

[121] Anila, Bali .*THE RUSSO-AFGHAN BOUNDARY DEMARCATION 1884-95:BRITAIN AND THE RUSSIAN THREAT TO THE SECURITY OF INDIA*, {School of Humanities, University of Ulster.Thesis submitted for the degree of D.Phil.1985}. pp 25-27

however Afghans revolted against Shah Shuja and British Consulate at Kabul was burnt in 1841[122] ,thus ended the sphere of influence in Afghanistan for the British.

'First Afghan war could not pass and die down and disappear leaving no trace behind, the ripples of that most disastrous adventure spread far and wide till they infected every Afghan all along the miles of frontier from Pamirs to the Persian desert…they spread into India and into the hearts of Bengal army…it echoed into St Petersburg'.[123]

The annexation of the Punjab in 1846 brought forward the BEIC troops to the banks of River Indus the traditional natural boundary between two civilizations, on the Western bank were the foothills. BEIC and especially the lieutenant governor of Punjab, Lawrence were adamant to protect the subject population inhabiting the forward edge of British Empire, BEIC had taken over the legal responsibility of Ranjeet Singh's empire which by itself was based upon the tacit mixture of diplomacy and militancy. Area West of River Indus from Peshawar down South Dera Ghazi Khan was divided into six Frontier Districts {FD} a separate force the Punjab Irregular Force{PIF} was also raised which was put under command of Punjab Government instead of a central command[124]. Between 1849-1854 over eighteen military punitive expeditions[125] were conducted to punish the tribes for their acts of hostility that included looting of caravans and attacks on BEIC, which from tribes perspective was nothing new.

First Afghan –Anglo Treaty 1855 ,a treaty was signed between the John Lawrence chief commissioner of Punjab and Dost Muhammad the Walee of Kabul at Peshawar on 30th March 1855 ,it had three articles and it was a treaty in which both parties expressed perpetual peace and friendship, not to intervene in each others territories and also acknowledging the sovereignty of each other over their respective areas, Dost Muhammad agreed to be an 'enemy of enemies of honorable East India Company'[126]. Another treaty was signed in Peshawar on 26th January 1857,in which British agreed to pay the Dost Muhammad one lakh rupees per month for his assistance against the Persian which had captured Herat along with 4000 muskets[127].

Thus it all came back to square zero for the British yet the threat of Russia was still looming. In Post 1857 the War Office and politicians in London especially prime ministers Disraeli and Gladstone had varying policy on countering the Russian threat, one school of thought favored a 'Forward Policy' which promoted an aggressive posture having British military contingents stationed as far forward as possible there by making Afghanistan a dependency of British India, the other school of thought favoured an isolationist policy[128] ,there by rejecting the very idea of any Russian invasion to India as not practical, they considered River Indus as an viable and economical defense line[129].

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[122] Azmat,Hayat, *The Durand Line its Geo-Strategic Importance* { Area Study Centre, University of Peshawar,2000} pp 63-64

[123] Ibid p,64

[124] Timothy Robert Moreman "*Passing It On The Army In India &The Devlopment Of Frontier Warfare 1849-1947*.,Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, King's College, University of London. pp 20-25

[125] *The Durand line* ,pp 244-245

[126] Ibid ,p 246

[127] Ibid,p 248.

[128] Miller,*Khyber*,pp 85-86.

[129] Mujtaba ,Razvi, *The Frontiers of Pakistan, a Study of Frontiers Problem in Pakistan Foreign Policy* {National Publishing House,Karachi,1971}pp,144-145.

Britain engineered the western borders of Afghanistan and Russians also agreed on having a clear sphere of influence, a treaty was signed with Russia on the extent of spheres of both empires in 1873 which later became the boundary between Afghanistan and Russia. Amir of Afghanistan was not consulted .

"The Oxus was accepted as the basis of the yet un-demarcated northern boundary of Afghanistan. The main results were: (1) establishment of the Oxus as the dividing line between Afghan and Russian territory. (2) Russia's formal exclusion of Afghanistan from its sphere of influence, and (3) acceptance by the British of eventual absorption by Russia of all of the khanates north of the Oxus, including areas once under the suzerainty of the Amir of Kabul. Neither the British nor the Russians consulted the Amir in making the arrangement."[130]

Second Anglo-Afghan War

Second Afghan War started because in London the policy makers now adopted the forward policy.'coming of the Conservatives in power in 1874. Lord Lytton became the new Governor General in India. The Forward Policy was pursued {by new governor General Lytton} and the tension grew… a mission under Neville Chamberlain left for Afghanistan, but on 25 August 1878 it was not permitted by the Afghan soldiers at the Khyber Pass to enter Afghanistan'[131]

Thus a military expedition was carried out 'to remove all anxiety about India's north western frontier… decision for war has been taken'[132]. The war itself was a replica of first Anglo Afghan war ,however reinforcement from India finally compelled the Yakub Khan{son of Sher Ali who had fled Afghanistan} the Amir of Kabul to a treaty signed at Gandamask ,a British military camp approximately 79 miles south west of Kabul on 30th May 1879.

Treaty of Gandamask

From the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present Treaty there shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the British Government on the one part and His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan and its dependencies, and his successors, on the other.

His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan and its depen-dencies engages, on the exchange of the ratifications of this Treaty, to publish a full and complete amnesty, absolving all his subjects from any responsibility for intercourse with the British forces during the war, and to guarantee and protect all persons of whatever degree from any punishment or molestation on that account.

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[130] Anila ,*Russo-Afghan Boundary*, pp 10-11.

[131] Dr Sultan-I-Rome *The Durand Line Agreement (1893): Its Pros and Cons* **,** WWW.VALLEYSWAT.NET,accesed on 26th January , 2011

[132] Durand line ,pp 110-112 also see Aslam Khattak, *A Pathan Odyssey*,{Oxford,Karachi,2000} pp,70-71. Also see,Muhammad Qaiser Janjua. "In the Shadow of the Durand Line; Security, Stability, and the Future of Pakistan and Afghanistan". Naval Postgraduate School, Monterrey, California,pp 66-67.

His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan and its depen-dencies agrees to conduct his relations with Foreign States in accordance with the advice and wishes of the British Government. His Highness the Amir will enter into no engagements with Foreign States, and will not take up arms against any Foreign State, except with the concurrence of the British Government. On these conditions the British Government will support the Amir against any foreign aggression with money, arms, or troops, to be employed in whatsoever manner the British Government may judge best for this purpose. Should British troops at any time enter Afghanistan for the purpose of repelling foreign aggression, they will return to their stations in British territory as soon as the object for which they entered has been accomplished.

With a view to the maintenance of the direct and intimate relations now established between the British Government and His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan, and for the better protection of the frontiers of His Highness's dominion, it is agreed that a British Representative shall reside at Kabul, with a suitable escort, in a place of residence appropriate to his rank and dignity. It is also agreed that the British Government shall have the right to depute British Agents with suitable escorts to the Afghan frontiers, whensoever this may be considered necessary by the British Government in the interests of both States, on the occurrence of any important external fact. His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan may on his part depute an Agent to reside at the Court of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and at such other places in British India as may be similarly agreed upon.

His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan and its dependencies guarantees the personal safety and honourable treatment of British Agents within his jurisdiction; and the British Government on its part undertakes that its Agents shall never in any way interfere with the internal administration of His Highness's dominions.

His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan and its dependencies undertakes, on behalf of himself and his successors, to offer no impediment to British subjects peacefully trading within his dominions so long as they do so with the permission of the British Government, and in accordance with such arrangements as may be mutually agreed upon from time to time between the two Governments.

In order that the passage of trade between the territories of the British Government and of His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan may be open and uninterrupted, His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan agrees to use his best endeavours to ensure the protection of traders and to facilitate the transit of goods along the well-known customary roads of Afghanistan. These roads shall be improved and maintained in such manner as the two Governments may decide to be most expedient for the general convenience of traffic, and under such financial arrangements as may be mutually determined upon between them. The arrangements made for the maintenance and security of the aforesaid roads, for the settlement of the duties to be levied upon merchandise carried over these roads, and for the general protection and development of trade with and through the dominions of His Highness, will be stated in a separate Commercial Treaty, to be concluded within one year, due regard being given to the state of the country.

With a view to facilitate communications between the allied Governments and to aid and develop intercourse and commercial relations between the two countries, it is hereby agreed that a line of telegraph from Kurram to Kabul shall be constructed by and at the cost of the British Government, and the Amir of Afghanistan hereby undertakes to provide for the protection of this telegraph line.

In consideration of the renewal of a friendly alliance between the two States which has been attested and secured by the forgeoing Articles, the British Government restores to his Highness the Amir of Afghanistan and its dependencies the towns of Kandahar and Jelalabad with all the territory now in possession of the British armies, excepting the districts of Kurram, Pishin and Sibi. His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan and its dependencies agrees on his part that the districts of Kurram and Pishin and Sibi, according to the limits defined in the schedule annexed, shall remain under the protection and administrative control of the British Government : that is to say, the aforesaid districts shall be treated as assigned districts, and shall not be considered as permanently severed from the limits of the Afghan kingdom. The revenues of these districts, after deducting the charges of civil administration, shall be paid to His Highness the Amir.

The British Government will retain in its own hands the control of the Khyber and Michni Passes, which lie between the Peshawar and Jelalabaddistricts, and of all relations with the independent tribes of the territory directly connected with these passes.For the further support of His Highness the Amir in the recovery and maintenance of his legitimate authority, and in consideration of the efficient fulfillment in their entirety of the engagements stipulated by the foregoing Articles, the British Government agrees to pay to His Highness the Amir and to his successors an annual subsidy of six lakhs of Rupees.

Done at Gandamak, this 26th day of May 1879, corresponding with the 4th day of the month of Jamadi-us-sani, 1296 A. H.

AMIR MAHOMMED YAKUB KHAN

N. CAVAGNARI, Major[133]

Despite the treaty the Afghans again revolted and scenes similar to First war were reenacted , ‘A rebellion took place and the Mission's members were killed on 3rd September 1879’[134] the British thus concluded that without having a King in Afghanistan who is reliable to their cause and also accepted to the Afghans problem of Afghanistan will remain agitated, Yakub Khan was put into exile in India. The British Viceroy in India, Edward Robert Lytton Bulwer had three choices: to annex Afghanistan and declare it a part of the British Empire, to make Afghanistan a strong British ally, or disintegrate Afghanistan into small independent states. All these options were rejected by London,[135] and instead Abdur Rehman nephew of Sher Ali who had been in exile in Russia was put on throne on 22 July 1880.

There are certain historical accidents which change the course of history,sometimes small inconspicuous villages and at times even lone house can alter the course of time. Merv a small village town on the North of Afghanistan was the first of such event, it had a strategic importance as it controls the trade routes leading to Herat from Russian Central Asian sphere, it was occupied by the Russians in May 1884 and next year Russians troops entered into a desolate village the PanjDeh{Five Villages} both events occurred on the Russo-Persian border and it again created an alarm in the British military. ‘Lt. General Edward Hamley of the Royal Artillery, read a paper on 'Russia's approaches to India' at the Royal United Service Institution,

[133] Azmat,*Durand Line,*Appendix p 244
[134] Sultan Rome, *Durand Line* 1893,p 36.
[135] Abdur Rehman Khan,” http://www.1911encyclopedia.org/Abdur_Rahman_Khan

pointed out the dangers of the Indus frontier and advocated an advance to Kandahar and the river Helmund as a countermove'[136] .

Sir Henry Mortimer Durand was born at Sehore in Bhopal state on 14th February 1850, he was the second son of M**ajor General Sir Henry Marion Durand** [1812-1871]. Henry Durand took an active part in the first afghan war of 1839 in the assault on Ghazni fort, he was from engineers and went very close to the main gate to put the charge bag and then lit it amidst fire, he later took part in the second Anglo afghan war of 1844, later served as political agent at Bhopal , then in 1march 1857 was in charge of central Indian agency he later in 1858 was the member of the board which carried out reorganization of Indian army at London. He became the foreign secretary of India in 1864 and finally the governor of Punjab where he met an accidental death , he was invited by a local Sikh ruler who took him upon an elephant ride and the entrance was bit low and thus ended a brilliant career, he married twice.

He had three sons and four daughters, all sons rose to distinction the elder was **Lieutenant Colonel Sir Edward Law Durand** born 1846-1920, he joined infantry and later served in cavalry was the ADC to his father as governor of Punjab and after hi death, he also served on the afghan Boundary commission as assistant commissioner, he was also the political agent at Nepal, after serving in India settled in England after he was made a baron, his one important literary work is the Rifle, spear and a Rod in East an account of sports. The second the Mortimer and third was **Colonel Algernon Durand** born 1854- 1923, he joined Central India Horse he was appointed a political agent at Gilgit in 1889, he led the British intrusion ninto the Hunza and Nagar and his book Making of frontiers is an ample record of his work on the northern frontiers of India, he later served as the military secretary to Lord Elgin , he retired in 1899.Durand family remained engaged with Afghanistan and its affairs from first afghan war and its final culmination took place in 1893 with te signing of agreement at Kabul between the Amir Abdur Rehman and Sir Henry Mortimer Durand, it was the single most important foreign policy decision of the nineteenth century in India or Asia , it averted the war between the England and Russia, it removed the misconceptions nd soon both these countries were fighting hand in hand against the Germans in 1914. The whole afghan issue took birth in 1800.

First Afghan War, background.

History of Afghanistan starts with the assassination of Persian Emperor Nadir Shah in 1747, Nadir Shah stands as high in history as Napoleon in later years, he expanded north and eastward, tus including the present day Afghanistan as far as beyond Oxus and in further east had Delhi under his subjugation which he plundered once.. Ahmed Khan was one of his

[136] Banali, *Russo-Afghan Treaty,* p 37

favourite general, in the confusion that arose after the assassination; Ahmed made good use of the incoming caravan full of royal jewels and rode off to the Afghanistan, a born leader of men. He just had five hundred men with him and a treasure with this he found an empire ; the present day Afghanistan, which again had Delhi under its control and all the area between Kabul and Delhi including Multan and Sind , in the north he went beyond Oxus. Inj the west had Persian province of Khorasan under him with Shah Rukh grand son of Nadir shah ruling as his deputy.

Ahmed shah was a racist, a nationalist, a fascist himself belonging to the Saddozai clan of mountain dwellers afghans who can be termed as the inhabitants of western Hindukush slopes and valleys. He proclaimed himself as Ahmed shah 'Durr-i-Durrani' pearl of pearls; thus Abdali tribesmen became known as Durranis also. Within the tribe there wee two major clans the Saddozai and Barakzai, the power was in the hand of Saddozai but vizier was from Barakzai to have a balance of power . Ahmed Shah died in 1773 and succeeded by his son Timur Shah who ruled peacefully for another twenty years till when he died in 1793; the rise of French Revolution, America already had its war of independence in 1776. Within the Punjab the Sikhs were on the rise having almost physical control of Lahore and its surroundings, the Mughul emperor at Delhi was a power less person in the face of two adversaries the Timur Shah or afghans in the west and British east India company in the east in Bengal. The area along the Ganges under the Oudh was a Muslim state with its ruler nominally accepting the Mughul sovereign presence. There was hardly any force with emperor. Hindu Marhattas were the other strong hawk in the south of Delhi and eyeing the capital.

Timur Shah died leaving behind 23 sons and 13 daughters, he was succeeded by his son Zaman shah, there was secessionist movements going on with half brother Mahmud holding Heart in the wet and Humayun another half brother who was governor of Kandahar was finally beaten in the battle ground by the only real brother of Shah Zaman; the Shah Shuja.

Persia the other great empire of yesteryears was still on its own at th turn of century with able Agha Muhammad being in power he had seized the Meshed which was ruled by the Shah Rukh, Meshed was the capital of Khorasan , he blinded Sahh Rukh and put him in prison thus ended the Afghan control of the Persian area. This Afghan- Persian conflict which started after the rise of the Nadir Shah and later that of Ahmed Shah remained in forefront for another two hundred years. Persians with the death of Timur Shah now were on the rise and seizing the lost provinces from Afghan who naturally consider this to be their own, similar issue was to surface in Indus Valley also where after the rise of Ranjit Singh the Sikhs started getting the areas of Punjab and Kasmhir along with Multan and Peshawar. Sikhs did not had any historical claim over these only geography was their main logic, Ranjit in a way represent to Sikhs what Ahmed Shah is to Afghans.

Zaman Shah finally arrived at Lahore which in 1799 was captured by the Ranjit Singh he was received with courtesy and imperial grandeur; the Sikhs simply paid a tribute to him and Zaman in return accepted the Sikh control over Lahore. It was simple diplomacy if

the Afghans were strong they would have taken back the Lahore and Mashed by force but now settled down for nominal submission which was the eastern way of being flexible . Zaman Shah ‘s arrival in Lahore set the course of events in action in sub continent it was alarming for the British as the Nawab of Oudh and other Muslim rulers generally look forward towards the afghan help in the restoration of power in favour of Muslims.

Persia was important and not the Afghanistan but the corridor leading from Persia passes through the Afghanistan, it is three millennium old route from Persia which follows Kandahar, Ghazni, Kabul and into India, with few passes allowing this west –east movement, water was the major issue as only very few places have water to sustain any caravan or military movement, Chagai was one such place.

Mahmud the half brother of Zaman Shah still in power at Herat was involved in a plot to assassinate the Zaman Shah but it was unearthed early thus in the end Mahmud had to fled to Persia but another Painda Khan the Barakzai sardar and vizier was put to death openly. Resultantly Painda’s son Fateh Khan Barakzai joined Mahmud in Persia with a vow to avenge the death of his father. In **1801** the Mahmud marched towards Kandahar and captured it then marched into Kabul and not only captured Zaman Shah but also took his eyes out. Shuja Mulk Saddozai the only real brother of Zaman Shah was then the governor of Peshawar he thus declared his independence but he soon lost it to the Sikhs. Ranjit Singh who was closely following the civil war in Afghanistan took his time and then declared his independence too.

Mahmud Sadozai who now took over Afghanistan was a successful leader of men , he had Ghilzais the strong tribe living astride the Hindukush into subjugation, he drove back the Uzbegs who had taken over the areas south of Oxus. Shuja in the mean time had tried to defeat him in the battle field but twice lost it and settled in India. 1n 1802 the intrigue’s in Afghanistan led to the downfall of Mahmud and Shah Shuja entered Kabul unopposed; he took his revenge and blinded Mahmud, imprisoning him in a dungeon but as the story goes the Mahmud was able to escape from it with the help of his followers ; this clan loyalty runs too deep. Shah Shuja had the worst of the news at the mid night when he was informed that Mahmud has escaped from the dungeon. Mahmud was again defeated in a battle field and it was then that Shah Shuja came to Peshawar for his first meeting with the British delegation led by Mosnstuart Elphinstone in 1809 at Peshawar.

Lord Wellesley is attributed with the brilliant piece of strategy when he devised the plan to put Persian pressure over the Zaman Shah in order to keep him out of Indian politics. The Persian monarch had earlier rejected the afghan claim over the Mehsed rather he marched towards Herat , it was this move which compelled Zaman Shah to cut his stay in Lahore and return back to Peshawar. Captain John Malcolm led a mission to the court of Fateh Khan to put this plan into practice. This mission had two purpose one was to put pressure on the Afghan monarch and secondly to thwart any intrusion of French into the Persia due to the fear of the Napoleon adventure towards the India. The treaty signed specified tis . Russia had seized the Persian provinces of Georgia and Armenia in 1804 , thus Napoleon made an offer to Persia against Russia. Napoleon in the mean time had declared

war on Russia in 1805 thus his proposal now had the authenticity of evidence; Fateh Shah finally succumbed to the French pressure and signed a treaty in **1807** under which he agreed to maintain an army ready to walk through Afghanistan{ Kabul and Kandahar} towards India. Unfortunately Fateh Kahn was bit late in his timings as Napoleon made a peace treaty with Russia in same year at the Convention of Tilsit; there was no mentioning of returning of Persian provinces back to Persia as Napoleon had earlier promised but such are the ways of warfare where the outcome of battlefield ultimately decides the fulfillment of diplomatic promises. Britain was now at war with Russia and with French as well, thus a mission was sent to Persia in 1808-09 led by the Sir Harford Jones representing the crown and Malcolm representing the company. They increased the Fateh Kahn's subsidy and presented a diamond as well. Fateh Kahn realizing his earlier folly took the bait and came back in the British camp. It is obvious now that Persia which layed beyond the vast desert of Baluchistan far far away from their Indian border of Sutlej was still important in the global or regional politics. Thus no power was to be allowed to have any control over the neighboring countries of India. In the north the Chinese were behind the great wall of Himalaya , in the east the jungles of Burma was another barrier, *although in 1853 and the in 1861 the Burma was invaded and finally annexed in 1874 by the British India.*

Thus in **1809-09** two important missions were sent from India , one to the Persia and later the Elphinstone- Shah Shuja meeting at Peshawar. Shah Shuja was cordial although at this stage {1809} the fear of napoleon had passed way but nevertheless at that time the importance was still there, Shah Shuja agreed to keep the French and Russians out of Afghanistan in return for a subsidy. The wheel of history turned faster and while he was still fresh from signing the treaty this half brother the blind Mahmud and Fateh Khan Baarkzai marched into Kandahar , Shah Shuja had to leave Peshawar and was duly defeated at Gandamak a village west of Jalalabad. Shah Shuja escaped and sought asylum at Ludhiana where his brother Zaman Shah was already living.

Herat and Harem 1816.

Herat was governed by a half brother of Mahmud by the name of Firuz, who was partially independent , Persians had long their eyes on the Herat as they consider it to be part of their empire thus they invested heavily against Herat, in return Firuz asked for help from Kabul . Fateh Khan had been irritated by the semi independence of Firuz thus he led an army by himself and his brother Dost Muhammad which not only pushed back Persians but later in search of treasures of Firuz , Fateh Khan rather Dost Muhammad violated the sanctity of the harem, one of the ladies present was the daughter of Mahmud. This was the cause for which he despite being victorious was flayed alive , blinded and then hacked to death publicly in Kabul . This caused widespread rebellion in which Mahmud once again found himself at Herat taking refugee , he now acknowledge the suzerainty of the Persians over Herat.

Fateh Kahn had twenty one sons and Muhammad Azam Khan the eldest now occupied the power, the cultural heritage of Afghanistan is such that only the Saddozai can be

ruler and Bararkzai as the vizier , Shah Shuja was given the offer to be a nominal head of state but he refused. In 1826 Sikhs finally defeated the Afghans at the Battle of Nowshehra which drove out the afghans out of the plains , Ranjit however allowed one of the Barakzai to remain as the governor of Peshawar. Dost Muhammad in **186** was finally able to garb the Kabul and thus became the leading figure, his hostile brother holding the Kandahar and Peshawar with Mahmud at Herat.

Kandahar 1834.

In 1834 the Shah Shuja left Ludhiana with the consent of British at the head of 22000 Afghans to capture Kabul, he adopted the Quetta – Kandahar route, Quetta was then a Afghan province. Kandahar at that time was held by Khundeil Kahn the brother of Dost Muhammad, who came to the rescue of him and defeated the Shah Shuja. Shah Shuja forces were led an adventurer Scot by the name of Campbell. Now Dost Muhammad after the victory proclaimed himself to be amir instead of shah and power came in the hands of Barakzai for the first time, Ranjit on the other hand had annexed Peshawar while Dost Muhammad was away at Kandahar.

Dost Muhammad first attempt soon after coronation was an attempt to conquer the Peshawar back; in a master stroke of diplomacy Ranjit met Dost Muhammad who had ,marched down with an army, Ranjit was able to create dissension among the Afghan camp and Dost had to return empty hand.

1838.

By this time the Russian advance towards the east had not started yet, 1828 Russo-Persian Treaty of Turkomanchi under which the Persians acceded the loss of their frontier provinces of Georgia and Armenia which Persian tried to took back militarily but failed thus they settled for peace which put them under the Russian sphere of influence. Now the Persians were set to outset their losses by recapturing the Heart, Kandahar and Kabul their former provinces. Russians had no hesitation in backing the Persians but British were now alerted to the possible inclusion of Afghanistan under the Persians which infact means the Russians influence .

Persian policy from 1832 till 1857 remained focus on the capture of Heart and this was the cause of first Afghan-Anglo war. In 1832 Abbas Mirza the Persian heir apparent led and marched into Khorasan with a force aiming at restoring the authority of Shah, he finally besieged Herat then governed by the Kamran Mirza the son of Mahmud the former Shah of Afghanistan with Yar Muhammad as his vizier. Fate played its part and Abbas Mirza died thus Abbas Mirza summoned back to the Tehran, his son Mohammad Mirza thus patched up the affairs at Herat and marched back to Tehran. In the end it was Muhammad Shah who took

over the reins of Persia who again marched to Herat in 1837 and that set the First Afghan War rolling.

Dost Muhammad was not strong enough to counter the Sikhs at Peshawar let alone to tackle the Persian menace at best he could tackle them one by one thus he first approached British , on the other hand his two brothers who were holding the Kandahar were alarmed at the Dost Muhammad rising power and approach the Persian and even Russians, it were the Russians who responded by sending one Captain Vitkavich to Kandahar. Lord Auckland on the other hand sends one mission headed by Alexander Burnes who had already been in Kabul as a traveler before. Thus at that point the representatives from both Britain and Russia were at Kabul, Russians were able to induce the Kandahar ruler to have an agreement with Persia , on the other hand at Kabul, Dost Muhammad kept him waiting pending the result of his agreement or talks with Burnes. The end result of these talks which accepted the suzerainty of Kabul over Peshawar with a tribute paid to Ranjit Singh and sending of an army to Herat for its defence were both rejected by Lord Auckland. 'It is impossible to avoid condemning the policy of Lord Auckland'[137]. This drove Dost Muhammad into Russian laps who joined his brothers into the same pact. Suzerainty of Shah of Persia was acknowledged and Kabul army was promised for the capture of Herat held by Yar Muhammad in return for equal gratitude in Persian army for capture of Peshawar, Persian dominance with Russian in background on the western frontiers of India was a failure of the diplomacy and this had to be rectified.

In order to repel the shadow the Russian aggression we had resolved to force Shah Shuja a weak and worthless exile , upon the Afghan people till then well disposed towards us and this great and unprovoked injustice the cause of all our subsequent troubles in Afghanistan was to be effected by military measures of which the rashness and folly seem at the present day almost inconceivable. The objects of the expedition were two fold , first the overthrow of the Barkzai dynasty and the restoration of Shah Shuja to the throne of his fathers; secondly the relief or capture of Heart, then besieged by the Persians with Russian countenance and aid.[138]

1840, War.

Plan was to have 20,000 British troops to march from Ferozpur towards the Kandahar through the Sind covering a distance of 850 miles, Kandahar to Heart another 380 miles, total of 1200 miles. Edward Pottinger was a British officer who had reached the Herat in disguise and later helped in the improvement of garrison defenses. British army passes through Bolan Pass after much suffering and pain it stood to its name and reached Kandahar and defeated the governor Kuhendil Khan, Shah Shuja was formally inaugurated as the Shah of Afghanistan. General Sir Keane was the commander in chief of this force and Sir William

[137] Sir Percy skyes, Mortimer Durand, p-72

[138] Sir Pecy Skyes, Mortimar Durand, p-73. Thre italics represent the writing of Sir Henry Mortmev who took part n thgfe Afghan war and was later Foreign Secretary of India. He wrote thre Official history of Firsrt SAfgahna War which was published in 1879.

McNaughton his political advisor, they next move towards Ghazni. At Ghazni the Henry Mortimer Durand shine and later he was responsible in leading an assault on the city through Kabul gate, a medal was later inaugurated in his name, Sir Keane was created Baron Keane of Ghazni..In August 1840 British marched into Kabul, Dost Muhammad had already fled the scene and took asylum with Amir of Bukhara, Dost Muhammad later surrendered to British after three months.

The force consisted of two infantry divisions, of which the first, commanded by Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton, contained three brigades, commanded respectively by Colonels Sale, Nott, and Dennis. Major-General Duncan commanded the second infantry division of the two brigades, of which one was commanded by Colonel Roberts, the other by Colonel Worsley. The 6000 troops raised for Shah Soojah, who were under Fane's orders, and were officered from British army in India, had been recently and hurriedly recruited, and although rapidly improving, were not yet in a state of high efficiency. The contingent which the Bombay Presidency was to furnish to the 'Army of the Indus,' and which landed about the close of the year near the mouth of the Indus, was under the command of General Sir John Keane, the Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay army. The Bombay force was about 5000 strong. General Fane the commander in chief had never taken kindly to the project, declined to associate himself with the diminished array that remained. The command of the Bengal column fell to Sir Willoughby Cotton,with whom as his aide-de-camp rode that Henry Havelock whose name twenty years later was to ring through India and England. Duncan's division was to stand fast at Ferozepore as a support, by which disposition the strength of the Bengal marching force was cut down to about 9500 fighting men. After its junction with the Bombay column, the army would be 14,500 strong, without reckoning the Shah's contingent.

At length, on December 10th, 1838, Cotton began the long march which was not to terminate at Cabul until August 6th of the following year The chosen route was by the left bank of the Sutlej to its junction with the Indus,down the left bank of the Indus to the crossing point at Roree, and from Sukkur across the Scinde and northern Belooch provinces by the Bolan and Kojuk passes to Candahar, thence by Khelat-i-Ghilzai and Ghuznee to Cabul. . On the way the column would have to effect a junction with the Bombay force, which at Vikkur was distant 800 miles from Ferozepore. Of the distance of 850 miles from the latter post to Candahar the first half to the crossing of the Indus presented no serious difficulties, but from Sukkur beyond the country was inhospitable and cruelly rugged. Marching through Bhawulpore and Northern Scinde, without noteworthy incident save heavy losses of draught cattle, Cotton's army reached
Roree, the point at which the Indus was to be crossed, in the third week of January 1839

Fallout of First Afghan War. The British instead of withdrawing opted to stay at Kabul. It was more of imperial mindset than anything else, for the trading company and for Lord Auckland it was the high point where a colony has been made in the extreme west . McNoughton the political officer now started playing the politics but it backfired miserably. The cost of expedition was the paramount and all efforts were made to reduce it. Even now the austerity drives of many countries usually starts from cutting the allowances and perks of junior officials which normally have no or very little bearing on the overall costs. In

Afghanistan or more particularly in the orient the allowances paid to the tribes are the best surety of peace, the allowances of key tribes including the Ghilzais wee cut down, it was done more drastically in the autumn of 1841, Ghilzais occupies the area between the Kabul and Jalalabad ; Brigadier Sale was move from Kabul to overcome this rebellion which he did after hot clash which resulted in his being closed in the Gandamak Fort.

British garrison at Kabul was attacked and Burnes was killed, General Elphinstone was weak and indecisive, Akbar Khan a son of Dost Muhammad was calling the shot, a safe passage was promised to the British garrison , the British finally started their march in mid winter and none survived except one surgeon Brydon. Shah Shuja was killed outside his Kabul palace, in the end Zaman Khan a nephew of Dost Muhammad was proclaimed as amir overlooking the Akbar Kahn .

A British retaliatory force was assembled under General Frederick Pollock at Peshawar, it forced its way through Khyber Pass and relieved Jalalabad it later moved to Kabul burnt down the bazaar on 15th September 1842 before defeating Ghilzais at Battle of Jagdallak, he was joined by General Nott who had held the Kandahar in all these turbulent days, both later returned to Peshawar and Kabul was left to its own. Dost Muhammad made his comeback and was accepted as thre ruler of Afghanistan by his own people.

Russian Advance; 1842-1878

The Russian advance towards the east was as natural as the British advance towards west. From 1838 onwards the Russians set on course towards the east. The causes of Russian advance are similar to the reason of British anxiety on its frontiers mainly the rising and constant attacks /raids on its territories. In 1844 sea of Aral was explored and in 1847 a fort was constructed at the mouth of Syr Darya. With this fort in 1855 Aik Masjid an important fortress of Khokand Khanate was overran; it was 200 miles upstream. Crimean war was a temporary friction on the east ward movement, in 1865 Tashkent was captured and now the important khanate of Khiva and Bokhara were threatened while Khokand was already taking its last breath. Bokhara was defeated in 1868 Samarkand was occupied and Khokand was shatter into history in 1876, three years earlier Khiva was overrun without any opposition . Thus by 1876 the threat of Russia whch was considered as mind fantasy in 1838 was now a reality.

Dost Muhammad {d1863}.

Dost Muhammad Barakzai can be conferred as the father of modern Afghanistan , the kingdom which Ahmad Shah Abdalli had set up in 1750 had shattered in its basic ingredients within a quarter of century after the death of great man in 1773. Now the power was in the hands of able vizier Barakzai clan. Dost Muhammad's greatest feat is in uniting the Afghanistan which he did in 1863 before his death.

Twenty years he ruled after the British folly of 1840. He showed the great astute which is manifested with the Vizier in the orient. It is a great continuation of history that

family who are trusted with single purpose by the ruler have kept that traits intact. Look at Viziers of Ranjit Singh the great Faqir brothers who were mastermind in many of the treaties conducted with the British and Afghans. The era of blood shed which was so predominant in the Mughul era especially in the Aurangzeb was replaced with a mixture of western and eastern philosophy and in this the vizier played important role in all the dynasties. Dost Muhammad had the same blood running in his veins in which decisions are made with logic rather than the emotion a feat so commonly attached with the ruling families. Dost opened up with British after the annexation of Punjab in 1849 by them . The Anglo –Sikh wars had finally put the British as the sole power with whom Afghans had to deal with. Dost in the 1848 had finally thrown his dice with the Sikhs when he sent 4000 cavalry troops for their battle against the British at Gujarat; but they could not turn the day in favour of Afghans or Sikhs. Had the outcome of that battle been different than Dost Muhammad would have put forward his stake on Peshawar and boundaries would have been drawn back to 1799 era.

1n 1855 Dost Muhammad had the first diplomatic opening with British which resulted in a treaty in 1857 with Lawrence of Punjab at Peshawar. Persian move against Herat in 1857 was another factor in his afvour, Persians had captured the Herat and British were anxious to keep them out but instead of repeating the folly of 1840 they induced Dost Muhammad to carry out the same task at a subsidy of 10,000 pounds per month as long as he remains engage with conflict along with weapons the most prized by Afghans. In the end Persians wee drove out of Heart mainly due to British naval action at Bushire and Muhmamerah. After Dost Muhammad's death anarchy once again spread in the country with rival brothers putting claim on the kingship in the end Sher Ali came out as winner but for short time as in 1867 he was back in the fortress of Herat taking refugee from his brother who had capture the Kabul, his usurpers include his half brother Afzal Khan who died soon and replaced by another half brother Azim Khan and Abdur Rehman.; soon they all were driven out and Sher Afzal was back in Kabul in 1868.

British had adopted a wise policy of masterly inactivity in which they remain aloof from the internal politics of Afghanistan but when Sher Ali was back in Kabul and had quelled all the mutinies then viceroy presented him with a subsidy of 60,000 pounds and same amount next year. In modern times it can be termed as grant which in those days and even now is an accepted mode of accepting one's sovereignty. In 1869 Sher Ali came down via Peshawar to meet Lord Mayo at Umbella in Punjab; he was given a grand reception and farewell.

Central Asian Playground

One key difference from past has been the way of setting up the rules of games and the limit of the arena in the western frontier of India from the past. Now the boundaries were laid down, first the British arbitrated between the Persia and Afghanistan over the boundary at Herat, Sistan. The Persia had been able to get hold at her lost province and this arbitration speaks itself of the British influence , instead of Russia it was the Britain which was acting as the umpire. Persia was allowed to keep the fertile west of Helmand and Afghanistan was given the barren eastern half, it severely tested the Afghanistan patience but it accepted the

decision. One thing has to said in the defence of afghan culture that it remained true to the words given or agreed upon. It did not please the Persians either.

In 1869 another significant agreement was the one which took place between Russia and Great Britain under which the lines of influence were drawn in which Russia agreed to keep the Afghanistan out of its sphere, the boundaries between the Russia and Afghanistan had to be drawn and agreed upon. This was the most significant step in almost thousand years of Central Asia history in which the area of sphere was agreed upon not on the battlefield but in the foreign offices . Gortchakoff the Russian gave assurance to Lord Clarendon ' Afghanistan is completely outside the sphere within which Russia might be called upon to exercise influence'[139]. But what constitutes Afghanistan was a prickly issue specially the provinces of Wakhan and Bdakhashan. Amir Sher Ali tried to have a defence pact against the Russia but Britain in the light of 1869 agreement with Russia declined it. Sher Ali was presented with 5000 Enfield Rifles and 50,000 pounds. It all looks so familiar with modern day diplomacy in which also the procurement of modern arms and financial aid increases the prestige of the ruling junta.

British policy was not to interfere in Kabul, the Russian advance cannot be checked from Afghanistan and the Amir when threaten will come to the Calcutta and till then the Amir should not have a undue importance of him. Russian advance must be stopped through European diplomacy, the lessons of First Afghan War were fresh in the minds of Masterly Inactivity. All this changed with Lord Lytton taking over the charge from Lord Northbrook in 1876, hawks were back in chair both at Calcutta and at London. Russian fever had caught them finally. In 1877 Russia declared war on Turkey and Great Britain sent 5000 Indian troops to Malta. In the same breadth Lord Lytton sent a mission towards Kabul which was not entertained and allowed to pass through Khyber and this was taken as the great insult and final proof of Afghan-Russo friendship of evil designs. Lytton wanted to have a permanent military officer at Kabul which Sher Ali resisted. He was in fact caught between the sea and the devil, Russian General Kauffman also arrived at Kabul with a mission and Sher Ali realized his position, Russians had finally put off their face of neutrality and decided to have Afghanistan under their sphere. Diplomacy moved at fast pace a day before Sher Ali finally agreed to entertain the Russian mission the treaty of Berlin was signed between the Britain and Russia; it was too late now. Russian mission left and Britain demanded the same reception of its mission which was refused and this was the final act which led to Second Afghan War.

Military operation were modified from the first war, now three expeditionary force were formed, one move on the traditional route of Quetta-Kandahar led by Sir Donald Stewart occupied Kandahar without much resistance, the central force moving through Kurram –Peiwar- Kabul under Major General Sir Fredrick Roberts, it was successful in crossing the Peiwar Kotal. The northern force moved through Khyber Pass under…..captured Ali Masjid, Jalalabad and entered Kabul. Sher Ali had fled Kabul on the fall of Peiwar Kotal

[139] Percy skyes, Mortimer Durand, p-82.

releasing his son Yakub Khan whom he had imprisoned for last six years. Sher Ali took refugee with Russian general Kauffmann, he died few weeks later at Mazar Shariff.

It was Yakub Khan who signed the famous treaty at Gandamak on 26th May 1879. He agreed to assign the districts of Pishin & Sibi in south and Kurram in the centre along with accepting British control over Khyber Pass. He also surrendered his rights as an independent nation to undertake foreign policy with other powers, in short he became a vassal of Calcutta. Yakub Khan also agreed to have the British mission at Kabul. Sir Loius Cavagnarri was appointed the head of British mission at Kabul. Trouble started soon with six regiments marching from Herat to claim their pay, they were not paid in full by the Amir. This set the event in motion with the half paid mob of militia stoning the British residency in frustration and the guards at the mission building {Guides Cavalry} firing on the mob and agitation started. Just like American embassy in Tehran in 1979 the mob soon was inside the compound and all British personals massacred, the history had repeated itself with same results as in 1842; this time there were no survivors.

Calcutta 1873.

In 1873 Durand came from England and joined the Indian civil service then having a strength of 1200 men , he had passed the examination in London. It had started in 1853 and these were known as 'competition walas' but before 1857 the BEIC college at London used to train the civil services, Durand was impressed from Charles Aitcheson a Scotsman who was the foreign secretary then, Alfred Lyall was the home secretary, Lord Napier of Magdala was the commander in chief. Durand had unpleasant initial day at Calcutta the heat and mosquitoes wee there was no electricity and only hand driven ceiling fans were the remedy. Lord Northbrook was the viceroy. Prickly heat was another major irritant for the new comers, a fiery irritating rash which covers the body and makes one's night almost unbearable'[140]. Durand found the cure y taking bath in carbolic acid soap rather had a cold bath than had lather of soap and lay down in draught on a bit of smooth Calcutta mating, sticky he went to sleep and never had a touch of prickly heat again. Durand passed his early Bengali language examination, he had to travel for hours to appear at Hooglay The examination had two parts the written and then spoken , after the written part Durand had time so he went to the garden and saw a man with his bamboo staff , he practiced his about to examine Bengali language and came to know that man's duty was to push back the dead corpses that comes floating on Ganges . Durand had to deal with minor petty criminal cases like stealing of coconut by some one and as such learns the lower society cultural and political aspect ; he already knew the higher echelon. It must be kept in mind that Durand never went to any university but he had command of several languages including Persian, Bengali, Russian to name few.1875 visit of Prince of Wales to India. He landed at Calcutta.

After the annexation of Punjab in 1849 by the British East India Company {BEIC}, Chitral at that time was ruled by the Mehtar, there were two distinct families based upon

[140] Sir percy Sykes, *The Right Honorable Sir Mortimer Durand a biography*, Cassel & Company, London, 1926, p-29

geography who were the ruling elite, the Khuswaqts in the upper Chitral with stronghold at Mastuj and the Kators who were living in the lower Chitral. It was a classical narrative as both had the common blood running in their veins but both trying to extend their hold. Numerous small principalities in the small valleys put their weight behind each family basing upon their chances of success. Murder was common feature to grab the power. Maharaja of Kashmir made a move and had an alliance with the Kator Shah Afzal Mehtar of Chitral against the Khuswaqts of Mastuj who were attempting to attack Gilgit with the aid of Yasin's ruler. This was the start of Kashmir getting involved into the Chitral affairs. In 1855 for a short period Chitralis occupied Mastuj but were driven out. The Khuswaqts of Mastuj had Gilgit under their control from 1848 till 1860 when Sikhs got it back after the death of Khushwaqt. On the other hand Shah Afzal Kator died in 1856 and after an intriguing episode his son Aman Ul Mulk became the Mehtar in 1857 and ruled till 1892. He is the father of modern day Chitral. He tried to unite the upper and lower Chitral ,expanded his territory which included Gilgit, Ghizar & Thui and Chiga Sarai in present day Afghanistan. Khuswaqts led by Pahlwan made a venture to capture Gilgit in 1880 but in his absence Aman Ul Mulk captured Mastuj and that ends the story of Khuswaqts.

Aman Ul Mulk more importantly opened up the country for the British. In 1885 the need to understand the western approaches to India were felt. The threat of Russia making an incursion through the Broghul Pass was a distant reality. An army team led by Colonel Lockhart visited Chitral and met Mehtar Aman Ul Mulk.

British in North. British venture into the north started in 1830 when travelers and foreign department officers disguised as saints and travelers gathered knowledge about the remote north. Names like George Hayward who was murdered in 1870 at Darkot, Mason , Burnes of Bukhara and later George Robertson who was the first British to live in kafir territory made headlines. Britain established an agency at Gilgit in 1880 with Colonel Biddulph as the political agent but it was short lived. In 1892 the Gilgit Agency was again established which also monitored the affairs in Chitral. Chitral after Colonel Lockhart was visited by Colonel Algernon Durand in 1888 and 1889. Chitral or more precisely Aman Ul Mulk played power politics, in the past Chitral had been a subject of Badakshan in a nominal manner and now Kabul asserted the same pressure. Mehtar tried to have a betrothal with Kabul but it did not took place, on the other hand when Mehtar felt threatened from Kabul he made an overture towards Kashmir in 1874 which resulted in a kind of pact between two sates linking the defence of Chitral with Kashmir; British were the referee; in the end Chitral came under British sphere of influence and this became a bone of contention between the Kabul and Calcutta.

1891 was another water shed year in the history of northern areas. The Nilt and Hunza valley rulers became embroiled in a clash with the British led by Colonel Durand with British and Kashmir troops under his command. In December the forts at Nilt were overcome after great dexterity shown by the troops. Chitral remained neutral in this affair; Gilgit Scouts took birth after this expedition and a permanent agency was established at Gilgit with political agent in charge. It must be kept in mind that agency was established at Gilgit but it still

remained under the Kashmir control it was only in 1936 that the agency was leased by the British from Kashmir.

Durand Line & Siege of Chitral - 1895. In 1893 the agreement was signed by the Afghanistan and British India to have a demarcation of their respective international boundaries which for the first time were established as well. The tribes interpretation of the agreement was based upon the hypothesis that British are intent to wipe out their culture and religion and this soon became a mind set which was fanned by the Afghanistan obviously.

Chitral differs from other parts of Durand Line in a manner because the River Chitral after traversing the territory again falls back to the Afghanistan, there are 29 passes that led to Chitral from Afghanistan staring from Darwaza Pass in the north to the Arandu or Aranwali in the south. Trouble initially started with the demarcation at Asmar within Afghanistan . Umra Khan of Jandol was another key player he was the son in law of Aman ul Mulk, pathan by race he was the chief khan of Lowari Pass. After Aman's death the bloody intrigues for the Mehtarship started among the various sons of late Aman ul Mulk {he had eighteen sons} finally it was the British weight which made Afzal Ul Mulk triumphant, it was short lived as Kabul back Sher Afzal soon took the reins after bloody coup. British now backed Nizam Ul Mulk another son of late Aman ul Mulk this resulted in Sher Afzal leaving the area as he entered through Doeah pass back into Afghanistan. A British agent George Robertson was stationed at Chitral. He started his move in **January 1893** towards the Chitral from Gilgit with 50 men of 15th Sikh Battalion, Captain Young husband a famous traveler was his assistant along with Lieutenant Gordon and Bruce. A native by the name Abdul Hakim also accompanied the Robertson. He arrived at Chitral and established himself, he was now the Britsih representive and his main task was to act as a listening post of on the northern gates of India.

DURAND LINE

Pakistan and Afghanistan both have historical cultural, ethnic and religious ties that spread over a thousand years. The very first Muslim empire established at Delhi in the 11th century was created by the Afghans and in different forms they remained in power or as king makers till the creation of Pakistan, the question then arises ,why these two countries despite having such a strong bond never had good relations[141].One major irritant is the Durand Line the boundary between the two countries that was drawn in 1893 between the British India and

[141] Ali ,Mehrunnisa, Ed, *Readings in Pakistan Foreign Policy 1971-1998* {Oxford,Karachi,2001}pp,330-332.

the King of Afghanistan and it remained in vogue till the creation of Pakistan in 1947 after which Afghanistan raised the issue of Durand Line by highlighting the plight of the Pashto speaking population that was divided along the line and till to date it is the core issue between two countries with after the creation of Pakistan 'almost all Afghan governments have denied the legitimacy of the Durand Line, rejecting the idea that it represents the legal international border between Pakistan and Afghanistan'.[142]

Pakistan today is a front line country in war against terror in which Afghanistan is the other key country, Pakistan on the one hand has emerged as the bastion of Islamic values and on the other hand is the most technological advanced Muslim country in the region and is the sole nuclear power of Islamic Ummah coupled with a strong 160 million population, as such Pakistan needs outlets in the region for its economic prosperity which has been seriously hampered by the events in Afghanistan in last three decades .The emergence of independent Islamic states in Central Asia as an aftermath of the Russian invasion and failure in Afghanistan has opened a new vista for Pakistan as all these states {Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan} are bestowed with abundant natural resources in form of petroleum and natural gas both of which are in dire needs by the Pakistan. The Durand Line extends approximately 1200 miles[143] from the Sarikol range in the north to the Iranian border in the southwest. Durand Line has scattered tribes living in the area since long is very scarcely populated yet heavily armed. The provinces of Baluchistan, North West Frontier Province (NWFP) and Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) are on the eastern side of the Durand Line and form the western border of Pakistan. On Afghanistan's side of the Durand Line are the provinces of Nimruz, Helmand, Kandahar, Zabol, Paktika, Paktia, Nangarhar, Konar, Nuristan, and Badakshan[144].

Chitral Siege – 1895

The classic act of frontier romance, an mountainous kingdom besieged by the wicked ruler and tribes and held out by a brave and loyal force of natives led by British officers, few casualties , no major clash or massive bloodbath. It was after 1857 that the act of Lucknow Residency was reenacted with a happy ending, that is how Chitral Siege has gone down in the frontier history. It was different from Hunza & Nagar campaign as no Victoria Cross was awarded . It had a strategic implication had the Umra Kahn of Jandol the most able and famous of the Pathan Khans been successful in his campaign to have Chitral under his influence then the Britsih would have received a serious dent in the Forward policy. The Britsih officers and their escort were threatened and threy timely got behind the safety of the fort. Meanwhile Umra Khan, Sher afzal and Mehtar were all gathered around the fort. The fort held out for well over a month under persistent dangers waiting for relief. The relief forces came from Gilgit and peshaawr.

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[142] The American Institute of Afghan Studies "The Durand Line: History, Consequences and Future." Nov 2007. http://www.hollingscenter.org/Reports/07-2007_Durand_Line.pdf (accessed January 8, 2011).

[143] Mujtaba Razvi,*The Frontiers of Pakistan,a Study of frontier Problems in Pakistan's Foreign Policy*{National,Karachi,1971}p 143.

[144] Muhammad Qaiser Janjua. "In the Shadow of the Durand Line; Security, Stability, and the Future of Pakistan and Afghanistan". Naval Postgraduate School, Monterrey, California, p22

Chitral state was part of Dir, Swat & Chitral Agency which comprised of vast territory of Hindukush and the border of Peshawar District and thus taken as agency of Peshawar.

In the aftermath of Chitral Siege of 1895, a new political agency was formed known as , Dir & Swat political agency with its headquarters at Malakand, Chitral was added to it a year later in 1896. Thus an assistant political officer used to manage the affairs of the Chitral; before this it was the political agency of Gilgit which was looking after the British interest in the state. It should be kept in mind that in 1891 under the Mehtar Amin ul Mulk the Chitral had agreed to hand over its foreign affairs mainly the relationship with the Afghanistan to the British.

The **Chitral Levies** were raised in 1897 by the assistant political agent at Chitral; it was his personal escort and force to implement the orders, it had a strength of 100 men . Mehtar had his own bodyguards numbering over 2000 and there was no regular army of Mehtar; there was one British army unit along with two guns which was stationed at Chitral. They had built a new fort a mile west and up of old fort which was besieged. Chitral levies thus perform the duties of border military police as well. Border military police was a system organized initially by the British after the annexation of Punjab in which originally the local tribesmen were task to perform the duty of manning the border with the tribes and mainly to stop their wrath in their own area. It was run on silladari system under which the local headmen produce the manpower and horses and get the pay as well; it was later abolished and the same tribesmen were paid directly by the state,. A assistant deputy commissioner in each district except Kohat was the head of this police. By 1903 it had 2300 strength.

British garrison which was stationed at the Chitral amounted to two infantry regiments, , one company of miners and sappers, one section of two guns. A line of communication was opened from Mardan through Malakand, Chakdara, Dir via Lowari to Drosh ; it was the responsibility of Khan of Dir to keep it open in his area for which he was given subsidy as well. Dir Levies were raised in 1897 for this purpose they were under command of the Khan of Dir. Similarly levies were also raised at Malakand known as Malakand Levies. This garrison was annually relieved utilizing this route. It was only in 1936 that the first ever relief using motor vehicles was utilized, the road from Chakdara was vastly improved by then still Lowari had to be crossed on foot. RAF from 1929 onwards started providing air lift and in 1937 an aerial relief was carried out in the winter when passes remained close. Chitral Levies initially had to look after the three post namely Ziarat, Mirkani and Arandu

Princely States of India

Chitral , Dir, Swat, Amb, Kalat were princely states , there were very few such states which became part of Pakistan and where frontier Corps was employed or which became part of it thus it is pertinent to have a brief look at the overall political system of India. There are two terms , one India and other British India to denote the present day Pakistan, India and Bangladesh before 1947. British India encompasses all the area which was previously under

the British east India Company and after 1857 came under the jurisdiction of queen Victoria and British parliament headed by Prime minister. The parliament appointed a viceroy normally for tenure of six-eight years. Within the cabinet there was a India office headed by a secretary of India , it was he who was answerable to the prime minster on India. It must be noted that for foreign affairs of Great Britain there was a foreign secretary also but he had no jurisdiction on India. In India the viceroy was the last word on all affairs, he had a commander in chief of army, a secretary of foreign affairs and other officials. India was divided administratively into Provinces which included Bombay{Sind was part of it} Bengal, United Provinces and after 1849 the Punjab; within which the NWFP was created in 1903 but it was not at par with other provinces as it was directly placed under the viceroy due to its strategic position.

Apart frm provinces there were over 560 princely states of various size and population , the big states included Hyderabad Deccan , Jammu & Kashmir. Gwalior, Baroda to name few. British gradually moved westward and in this process certain states were annexed like Oudh in 1852 which became a province and many other were left at their own on certain conditions the paramount being , not to indulge or support anti British military campaigns. These stes were ruled by princes, although all the staes had different titles like raja, rao, nawab,thakur, nizam to name few but British all classified them as princes. Thus ' **Britsih India'** denotes the area which was under British administration in form of provinces and **'India'** represents the princely states. 122 states were directly ruled by the central government from Calcutta {Delhi became capital after 1911} in other over 400 states there were political agents who were responsible to the provincial governors, commissioners and deputy commissioners. **Tribal Areas** were different from the other two misnomers of India and British India and they remained so till the last day of raj. These tribal areas mostly on western frontiers but also on eastern and northern frontiers were directly under the viceroy, the political agents were carefully selected and till 1930 all were British. The political agents were responsible to the foreign office of India. In case of NWFrontier the political agents communicated in the same pattern to the chief commissioner, the first governor of NWFrontier was appointed in 1935. Baluchistan itself was another adjoining political agency south of NWFrontier . The princes of these staes were given subsidy and were allowed certain gun salutes depending upon their importance. Viceroy was authorized 1010 gun salute where as the Nizam of Deccan and maharaja of Kashmir were entitled 21 gun salutes most of the princes were entitled nine gun salutes. Staes were allowed to have a militia or army with British officers overlooking the affairs. Honorary ranks of lieutenant to general {very rarely} were bestowed upon the princes, states had their own flags and were not bound to follow the British legal system as enforced in British India rather own cultures were followed.

Indian Army and **British Army in India** also represent two different segments of the army. The regular British army regiments had a tenure of duty in India spanning over five to seven years, they had exclusive all British ranks.; they were known as British Army in India. The standard army which took its birth with the BEIC comprising of British Officers and native other ranks was known as Indian Army`. Native officers were given commissioned after First World War. Indian Army had its own commander in chief; there was some

discrepancy among the allowances of both armies. It was in 1907 that a new corps was raised known as frontier Corps mainly responsible for the Western Frontiers of India & British India. Ironically there were few princely states on the western frontiers they included Kashmir in the north followed by Nigar, Hunza,Tangrel, Chitral, Dir, Swat, Amb, Tank and Kalat in south. A new concept of military was introduced comprising of Militia, Levies, Scouts, Rifles, Border Military police supported by regular army.

Politically the administration was run on bureaucratic system with precise instructions and protocols to follow. The officers who were inducted in the district administration were either inducted directly through the competitions or from regular army; again either on recommendations or through examination. These officers were allowed to retain their army ranks and were also allowed to automatically enhance their prefixes of rank in accordance withy the routine promotion of officers in army. Thus Major General Sikander Mirza one of the very first Indian to receive his commission from Sandhurst in 1920 was inducted in foreign service and posted as political agent when he was captain but despite remaining in civil service he still changed his arnk when ever his seniority was promoted in army, he finally became a defence secretary of Pakistan in 1952 and then a governor general and finally he took oath as the first president of Pakistan in 1956. Suzerainty over Britsh India & India from 1857 onwards rested with the crown Queen Victoria was proclaimed as Empress of india in 1876 followed by King –Emperor Edward VII, the title Emperor was meant for India.

Princely states were organized into presidency {Madras} Resideny{Kashmir, Deccan} and agency. These state agencies dealt with the princely states , the North Western Frontier Staes Agency looked after the princely staes on North western frontier, down below was the Baluchisrtan Agency which had the {Kalat, Kharan, Las Bela, Makran}. One distinct feature of this western frontier was the creation of political agencuies on the same footing as for princely states to dael with the tribes , who hitherto never had any central authorithy to submit. Political agent in these tribal agencies had the same position as other political agents rather they were the pick of the pick, personally interviwed by the viceroy which mainly was in the form of the evening tea with viceroy and vicerine.

This whole composition and relation between the princes and suzerain remained as per royal protocol based upon century old customs. Ironically the layout of the staes was such that British india did not ahd any direct contact with the Afghanistan , Iran and China. The tribes inahbitaing these tracts were free men in every sense. They were not savafe like the African tribes with whom the white men first had contact. The tribes on the aestern frontier were different in every sense from the western tribes separeated by a thousand miles. The eastern frontier was jungle with Burma as the neighbor, weather tropical with torrential rainfall , swamps and weather based water channels , jungle full of wild life. How civilization penetrated is still a mystery as when they were discovered they were living and are stil living in the old darvidian jungle way of life. Humid weather gave them dark skin, short height, fragile body and a culture basing upon nudity. Burma was eventually annexed with Britsih India after the Anglo-Burmese awrs

Chitral State Scouts were raised in 1903 on the recommendation of the political agent Captain McMahan. At that time Chitral, Drosh, Chakdara, Malakand, Drazinda and Jandola in South Waziristan were the only places in agencies where there were British regular army battalions stationed. That speaks itself of the importance of the Chitral, Dir and Swat agency. This agency differs from others in many ways ,its importance was not due to its militant culture rather due to the Russian threat. The strength of British garrison at Chitral had been reduced to one infantry battalion along with sappers and a section of artillery. This strength remained at Chitral till 1942.

Chitral State Scouts were raised as classical militia; comprised entirely of local population which will trained only for two months a year and rest of year perform their normal task. This is what Machiavelli had propounded in 15th century and it was adopted in Chitral in entirety.

Strength was 1200, which means that this number will be given training , they were called for training and manning of post in bathes of two hundred for a duration of two months each year. They were provided with martin snider rifles but were not allowed to take home, two British officers remained in command. Headquarters were at Drosh where a fort was constructed. Pay and allowances were shared by the political agent and the Mehtar Shuja Ul Mulk was also installed as the honorary commandant of Chitral State Scouts, Shuja remained in this honorary position till 1936 when he died after a rule of 41 years. Thus his stint as honorary colonel commandant spans over 33 years the longest in Pakistan's military history. It is a continuity of history that traditionally the Mehtar is installed as the honorary colonel commandant, in present day Chitral Scouts as well, presently …… is the colonel commandant. This CSS acted more as a border police than as a militia however its primary task was to protect the British officials at Chitral who were acting as a listening post. Mehtar meanwhile initiated a programme of openness; he was invited and visited Calcutta in 1899, at Peshawar vice regal's Durbar in 1902 and at Coronation Durbar at Delhi in 1903. Mastuj and upper Chitral including Laspur and Yarkhun was made part of Chitral territory with Mehtar entering into a pact with the natives in 1909.

On raising the initial batch of scouts were given extensive training in drill for which the drill instructors from the regular British army unit stationed at Chitral were borrowed. Firing was the main thrill for the recruits if they can be call recruits. Air was informal and so was the routine. Polo was a major attraction in the evening when the scouts would show their prowess. Watching them play polo was a teat and lesson in war itself, fearless gallops after a ball the control over the ponies and coordination between the hand and eye while galloping speaks volumes of military tarits; it wasa question of only harnessing these .

Third Afghan War 1918.

The war itself was not focused on Chitral sector, this sector differs from all others in a sense that it is inhabited by non pathan tribes who do not share the common language with

rest of combatants of the war. However purely from military geography the Amir Amanullah of Afghanistan had much more chances of success here in Chitral than anywhere else. Chitral in the summer of 1914 was a peaceful garrison, the lone infantry regiment was stationed at Drosh, Chitral Scouts itself had only one company in the summer to train with or for manning of the posts. May has been a month of almost all major events in subcontinent thus it was in May 1914 that Amir Amanullah broke his relations with British India because it had delayed in accepting his kingship and more so politically to have the public support in his favour which is so vital in country like Afghanistan and what better way than to have Jehad; tribes became electric with the prospect of an all out war against the infidel British. Mehtar of Chitral also received one such firman from Amanullah on 8th May 1914 through the military governor of Afghan Asmar province Brigadier Muhammad Usman Khan; Mehtar Shuja Ul Mulk rejected the offer and kept his side of pact with the British intact. It was a very wise step of diplomacy. Afghanistan after 1893 had carried out an all out massacre of the Red Kafir or Broghul driving them into the Chitral Kafiristan. Majority of the kafirs had accepted Islam and were known as sheikhs moreover the Kafiristan itself became Nuristan in Afghanistan. The war bugle was sounded and Chitral prepared itself for an attack of Afghanistan.

Chitral Garrison comprised of 1/11th Rajputtana Regiment with 450 bayonet strength it was commanded by Lieutenant colonel F.C.S. Samborne who was also the commander of all armed forces in Chitral which comprised apart from his regiment, a company of sappers and section of guns ex 23 mountain battery, along with 1000 scouts of Chitral; they had been called up for the service. Chitral State scouts were being commanded by Capatin Crimmin with Lieutenant byres as the sole British officer.

Chitral was divided into eight districts each under an 'aatlique' responsible for collection of revenues and also head of the local scouts, it was his responsibility to collect the men for training and sent them to the Drosh . Under every aatlique there was a 'charwelo' responsible for a group of villages within a valley, each village itself had the Baramush the head . It was the Baramush who was the first ladder of the Chitral State Scouts organization. Now these aataliques gathered the trained men . Chitral Scouts were under the political command of assistant political agent Major N.F. Reilly who started mobilizing on 5th May 1919.

Company of scouts was initially deployed at Galapach six miles downstream of Mirkani, aim was to keep an eye on the Arandu pass. Mehtar on the other hand had sent his various sons along with his body guards on various passes also. Initial Afghan movement started from 12th May onwards, they captured Arandu and soon the Scouts position at Galapach was over ran by 600 strong afghans, scouts retreated to Mirkani. Afghans were certainly moving forward with an aim to capture the Mirkani and close the Lowari Pass.

Clash at Mirkani.

On 14th May Major Reilly along with two companies of Chitral State Scouts arrived at Mirkani from Drosh. The retreating scouts were also harnessed and together these three

companies put up a courageous attack on the Galapach position and reoccupied it; fighting continued the whole day. In another classical display of fighting the scouts along with 50 men of Mehtar bodyguard under command Major Reilly put up another attack on the Kauti feature which was across the river and source of permanent irritation for the Galapach position the objective was achieved with in hours on 16th May. Afghan strength at Arandu was estimated to be over 600 supported by four artillery guns and a large tribal lashkar, apart from Arandu the afghans were in control of Bashgal and Birkot valleys

On 21st May 1919 in the overall plan the one company of Chitral Scouts were amalgamated with the Mehtar's bodyguard in an attack on the above mentioned positions. Two companies of Chitral Scouts under command Lieutenant Byres of Scouts pressed forward on the right bank and two companies on left bank under their commandant. Subsequently Byres moved forward , on 22nd may he had a temporary bridge thrown over the river in which the scouts were expert in doing so, byres move ahead to face Afghans at Darshot but to his dismay they had vacated the posts before his arrival.

Battle of Birkot 23rd May 1919.

Almost entire British garrison at Chitral was present at the battle of Birkot, a small town inside the Afghan province of Asmar where the bulk of Afghans were concentrated. Battle opened up on 23rd May at 0700 hours with own artillery opening up, the Rajputtana and Chitral Scouts carried out the advance and by 1400 hours the Afghans started retreating from Arandu. Afghan resisted was mainly in the form of sniping. Chitral scouts lost eight men and another 23 were wounded. After the action the afghans started reinforcing themselves thus the political administration of Chitral very wisely decided to retreat back into own areas thus the two companies of Chitral State Scouts were left at Mirkani Fort and remainder took position inside Drosh Fort along with other elements . On 3rd June 1919 the armistice was signed between the British India and Afghan government. However the situation ay Chitral remained precarious with Afghan General Wakil Khan planning to move into the Chitral thus two companies of Scouts and few men of Mehtar bodyguards wee stained at Ayun and one company was also sent to Lotkoh valley. On 17th July 1919 an Afghan attack came upon Bambouret Valley via Zanor Pass and advanced to a mile of the Bambouret Village. Afghans had a complete control of all passes starting from Zidig Pass in the north to the Brambolu Pass in the south. Lowari Pass was also threatened by 500 odd Afghan tribesmen with menacing posture towards the Ziarat post. Lieutenant Byres with two companies of Chitral Scouts physically attacked this conglomeration of tribesmen and pushed them back. The situation in Chitral started coming back to normalcy after signing of the treaty at Rawalpindi on 8th August 1919; thus ended the first blood of Chitral State Scouts from which it emerged as a victor. Three scouts were awarded with posthumous award of Indian Order of Merit, one with Military Cross, one with distinguished Service Order and two each with Indian Distinguished Service Medal and Title of Khan Sahib.

More importantly the concept of Scouts in Chitral so different from the other militias proved a success. Unlike North Waziristan Militia and South Waziristan Militia along with Khyber Rifles where mass defection took place, there was not even one defection among the ranks of CSS. Being entirely composed of one qaum it had its own advantages which proved so good in this conflict.

Flying in Subcontinent, an Early History

Flying came quickly in Sub Continent, the world's first official airmail was carried on 18th February 1911 when French pilot Henri Piquet flew Humber biplane from Allahabad to Naiai Junction across River Jumna a distance of 5 mile with 6500 letters. The First Indian Ace, **Indra Lal Roy** was the most accomplished of all Indian pilots who flew during the First World War. Born in Calcutta on 2nd December 1898, this gallant flyer was only 16 when the war broke out in Europe. He had been a student at St. Paul's School, Kensington, London since May 1911 and left to sign up for the Royal Flying Corps as soon as he reached military age in April 1917. He was granted a commission in the service as 2nd Lieutenant. On 5th July 1917, a few months short of his 19th birthday. Five days after commissioning into the service, Roy moved to Vendrome for flying training. And after a stint at the Gunnery School at Turnberry, Roy was posted to No. 56 Squadron on 30 October 1917. Between the 6th of July and the 19th of July 1918 the 19 year old was credited with ten victories. In just over 170 hours of flight time. On the morning of 22 July 1918, three days after scoring his final victory, this gallant young man was killed in action when his plane went down in flames over Carvin during a dogfight. He was posthumously awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross on 21st September 1918, the first Indian ever so honoured two other Indians were also given commission in RFC they were HS Malik (the very first Muslim flyer of India) and Lieutenant Welinker. In 1914 a Central Flying School was established at Sitapur it was later abandoned and it joined RFC detachment at Mesopotamia in November 1914, the remainder of the School was sent to Egyp. In 1915 RFC's No. 1 Reserve Squadron formed the Nucleus of 31 Squadron which arrived at Bombay on 26th December 1915 with five BE. 2C, it's A Flight flew to Nowshera and later moved to Risalpur on 1st March 1916, in November 1916 the squadron moved to Risalpur with flights operating at various places.

End of WW1

By the end of Great War, Royal Air Force had assume the policy of deterrent through airpower in Middle East and North Western Frontier thus further squadrons arrived in India equipped with DH-9A air craft by mid thirties there were six such squadrons. In 1918 first flight from England to India via Egypt took off on 29th November and landed at Karachi on 12th December 1918, crew consisted of Captain Ross and Major General Salrond. Peshawar, Kohat, Risalpur and Karachi were the initial air fields. Razmak (1935), Miranshah, Samungli (1922) were all constructed before the Second Great War mainly to counter the tribes as well as being part of Great Game. In 1921 a flying school was opened for a short time at Quetta equipped with Bristol and Avro 504Ks. Also on 28th March 1921 the Indian legislative passed the bill for the gradual Indianisation of armed forces.

Kabul Evacuation

In 1929 the world's first mass evacuation of civilians took place when 549 people were evacuated from Kabul to Risalpur. Regular commercial flight from England–India was inaugurated on 30 March 1929; it used to took seven days for 4130 miles. In 1930, the year Lahore Flying Club was Opened, six Indian officers were sent to England for flying course, the first five pilots commissioned into the IAF were Harish Chandra Sircar, Subroto Mukerjee, Bhupendra Singh, Aizad Baksh Awan and Amarjeet Singh. A sixth officer, S N Tandon had to revert to ground duties as he was too short. All of them were commissioned as Pilot Officers in 1932 from RAF Cranwell. The Indian Air Force (IAF) was established with the passing of the Indian Air Force act on October 8th, 1932. Accordingly, IAF's No.1 Squadron came into being on April 1st, 1933[145] It was formed as 'A' Flight of IAF at Drigh Road Karachi; the same year Mount Everest was first flown over by Flight Lieutenant Intyre and Marquis of Clydesdale. Initially, the IAF consisted of five Indian pilots, one RAF Commanding officer, Flight Lieutenant (later Air Vice Marshal) Cecil Bouchier and four Westland Wapiti biplanes serial number J9735, K9854, K1263 and K1272. At that time there was a prerequisite of 39 inches leg length as medical standard for the pilots. Simultaneously 22 technicians were also selected as having railway work shop experience as good enough to handle aircraft, they underwent technical course at Karachi on 19 January 1932. These technicians were known commonly as 'Hawai Sepoy'. In April 1936 the B Flight was formed and A Flight was moved to Peshawar where already 20 Squadron RAF was deployed. The No. 1 Squadron later moved to Chaklala in November 1936 to join No. 5 Squadron RAF, its flights operated at Miranshah finally the squadron assembled at Ambala on 3rd July 1938, its C Flight was raised at Drigh Road Karachi in the previous month.

WW2

In September 1939 the second Great War began and expansion of Indian Air Force took place, a flying training set up was established at Risalpur. The training pattern of IAF also included an initial training of 10 weeks for the cadets at Lahore (No 1 Initial Training Wing) where they were taught drill and military discipline later it was transferred to Poona and duration was increased to 14 weeks and extended to 18 weeks in 1943. Abinitio flying training was the responsibility of No. 1 & 2 Indian Elementry Flying Training Schools located at Begumpet (Hyderabad) and Jodhpur respectively, the duration was 10-12 weeks in which ground subjects and flying training was imparted. From here the cadets would move to No. 1 Indian Flying School at Ambala where cadets initially underwent ten weeks of flying followed by twelve weeks of advanced flying training and then posted to the squadrons, civilian flying schools were also utilised for training of IAF pilots, another small initial flying set up was established at Risalpur with few Tiger Moths but it was disbanded in 1941. An armament training unit was formed at Drigh Road for providing training for pilots and observers but this was also closed in 1941 and training was shifted to Peshawar where a new No. 1 Armament Training Unit was established, a parachute training school was also established on 22nd September 1941 near Delhi at Willingdon Airport initially known as Air Landing School. Japanese attack on Burma and air raid over Calcutta forced the British to built over 200 new airfields especially in depth of India thus Dhamial, Rahwali, Gurkha, Multan, Fatehjang, Sargodha, were constructed in this back ground. In 1942 all civilian flying schools were closed and aircraft taken over for anti

145 Ray Sturtivant, *Aviation News, 24th February-8th March 1984*, pp-884-889.

aircraft cooperation flying[146] on 1st April 1942 No 1 Operational Training School was set up at Risalpur for conversion of Hart and Lysander aircraft pilots onto Hurricanes and in November 1942 No. 152 OTU was formed at Peshawar to undertake bomber conversion, training commenced in January 1943 and by May same year the unit had 33 Venegeance and six Harvard aircraft along with six target tugs, to cater for heavy bomber training No. 1584 Conversion Flight was established at Salbini near Calcutta

Post 1947

Pakistan came through a political process in which the Muslim League headed by Jinnah represented the case of Muslims of India for a separate homeland in which the Muslim majority areas of western and eastern India were to be made sovereign, this idea was not shared by the Pathans representatives in the assembly of province{NWFP was made a separate province under 1935 Act of India}frontier was ruled by the coalition of Congress which was in opposition to the Jinnah's idea of freedom and Punjab also had a Muslim unionist coalition party. NWFP was not given the same privileged as given to Sindh,Punjab and Bengal where the provincial assemblies were to decide on the question of accession, rather through a referendum in which the people voted to join the Pakistan instead of joining the India, however the Congress leaders Bacha Khan raised the question of giving the Pushto speaking people the choice of joining their linguistic brethren Afghans[147]. Soon after independence the congress ministry in frontier of Dr khan sahib was dissolved ' dismissal of ministry by a dictatorial order was neither desirable nor constitutionally correct'[148]

Pakistan and Afghanistan thus inherited a culture of distrust, Pathans were seen as non patriotic, they were not part of the main stream politics which revolved around the Urdu speaking population of United Provinces and by the Bengalis.Treason charges were formed against the Bacha Khan and later his son Wali Khan was also put under arrest in 1970's. The West Pakistanis especially the Punjabis were not willing to accommodate the Pathan culture and till 2008 the name of province remained as NWFP and it was only through an amendment in the constitution that the whole Pashtun Issue that has been the Achilles Heel of Pakistani politics and the major trump card of Afghanistan and India to destabilize has been made redundant.

Pakistan and Afghanistan soon after independence remained hostile to each other in which Afghanistan tried to challenge the legality of the Durand Line and for that matter all the treaties that it signed with the British India.

Indian Act Of Independence 1947,passed by the British Parliament on 18th July 1947 states.

'there lapse also any treaties or agreements in force at the date of the passing of this Act between His Majesty and any persons having authority in the tribal areas, any obligations of His Majesty existing at that date to any such persons or with respect to the tribal areas, and all powers,

146 Ibid.

147 Khattak,Aslam,*Pathan Odyssey* , pp54

148 Ibid, p57.

rights, authority or jurisdiction exercisable at that date by His Majesty in or in relation to the tribal areas by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance or otherwise:…. the suzerainty of His Majesty over the Indian States lapses, and with it, all treaties and agreements in force at the date of the passing of this Act between His Majesty and the rulers of Indian States, all functions exercisable by His Majesty at that date with respect to Indian States, all obligations of His Majesty existing at that date towards Indian States or the rulers thereof, and all powers, rights, authority or jurisdiction exercisable by His Majesty at that date in or in relation to Indian States by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance or otherwise'[149].

However The International Law in Article 62 of the Vienna Convention, on the Law of Treaties states, "It is accepted by all that whenever a new country or state is carved out of an existing colonial dominion; all the international agreements and undertakings that the previous ruler of the region had entered into would be transferred to the new independent national government."[150]

Goldsmid Line

Pakistan since independence has redrawn his old borders inherited from British India with Iran and China{Indian Borders were marked after independence on 17th August 1947}. In case of Iran{Goldsmid Line} an adjustment of area has been made in which over 310 square miles of area has been given to Iran and with China a treaty was signed in 1963 in which over 2000 square kilometers area has been adjusted by conceding it to China .

The Iranian border settlement sharply contrasted with the Pakistan's attitude towards Afghanistan,and it is logical to suspect that the cultural alienation is the key in this indifference.

Pakistan inherited almost 590 miles of border with Iran{Goldsmid Line},British India had entered in treaty with Iran over the borders in 1871,1896 and 1905[151],importantly the railway terminus of zahidan was legally under the control of Pakistani government on transfer of power and soon after independence clashes took place between Pakistani and Iranian troops but were never reported in the press[152] a sharp contrast to the Durand Line affairs.Pakistan withdrew its passport officials 87 miles behind the border and later withdrew Chagai militia to Jozak 11 miles inside border[153]. Later Iran bought all the property of Pakistan nationals as no foreigner is allowed to purchase land in Iran. Pakistan government also transfer Mirjawa- Zahidan sector of Pakistan Western Railways to Iranian Railways .The treaty was signed in 1958 and on 16th July 1963 the transfer of territory was completed,later opposition parties raised questions in assembly over transferring of territory to Iran,the government reply was 'it is not a fact that Pakistan had given away 3000 square miles to Iran ,we agreed to give to Iran 310 square miles of its territory which had been forcibly occupied by the British'.[154]

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[149] ***http://www.legislation.gov.uk Indian Independence Act 1947 {accessed on 3rd January 2011}***

[150] . "Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties". United Nations. Accessed on 26tth January 2011. http://www.un.org/law/ilc/texts/treaties.htm

[151] Razvi, Frontiers ,p205

[152] Ibid,p207

[153] Ibid,p 206

[154] Ibid,p209.

Durand Line & Siege of Chitral - 1895. In 1893 the agreement was signed by the Afghanistan and British India to have a demarcation of their respective international boundaries which for the first time were established as well. The tribes interpretation of the agreement was based upon the hypothesis that British are intent to wipe out their culture and religion and this soon became a mind set which was fanned by the Afghanistan obviously.

Kashmir-British legacy.

Kashmir Facts & Terminology

Kashmir, in Sanskrit, implies land desiccated from water: "ka" (the water) and shimeera {to desiccate}.

Jammu & Kashmir,{J & K } on the eve of 1947 meant, Jammu a Himalayan Sikh paramountcy Dogra state which became sovereign over Kashmir a Sunni Muslim province of Afghans after it was capitulated by Sikh Kingdom of Punjab. Baltistan a Himalayan Buddhist Kingdom captured in 1840. Gilgit Agency includes emirates of Hunza, Nagar, Punyal and Ishkomen all Shia Muslim states which came under Jammu in 1892. However on the eve of 1948 same it conveys .Indian Held Kashmir,{IHK}area under Indian sphere, capital Srinagar.Azad Jammu & Kashmir{AJ&K}area under Pakistan's influence, capital Muzzaffarabad.Northern Areas{NA}Gilgit and Baltistan.Aksai Chin. Area of Kashmir claimed by China.On the eve of 2011 it conveys J&K , a province of India with special constitutional rights.AJ&K. Status Quo.NAs. Province of Pakistan,Aksai Chin. Part of China.Land locked state of Jammu and Kashmir {J&K} is situated in the northwest of South Asia subcontinent, India in the south and south east{Himachal Pradesh &Punjab}Pakistan in west, in east China{Sinkiang &Tibet}and Afghanistan {20 miles wide Wakhan strip in Afghanistan separates it from Tajikistan}. Total area is 222,236 square kilometres and population 14 million{80 % are Muslims}. Population. Jammu 3 Million ,57% Hindus,40% Muslims .Laddakh ,population 1.5 million,55% Buddhist, 40% Shia Muslims.Kashmir {IHK} population 3 million {90% Muslims}.Population of AJ&K is 4.1 million {all Muslims}.

Kashmir under a Sikh Maharaja opted to remain independent at Transfer of Power ,where as both dominions Pakistan and India strategically, ideologically, culturally, economically and psychological wanted Kashmir, his Muslim population rose supported by Pathan tribes of Hindu Kush and anarchy spread. Maharaja acceded to India and conditionally accepted by Governor General Louis Mountbatten, Indian Forces landed at Srinagar and The First Kashmir War started, which have numbered to five till now. UNO has been mediating in the conflict and passed resolutions stressing for plebiscite . Pakistan and India both do not observe resolutions, however they have bilateral agreements{Tashkent,Simla,Lahore}to settle the dispute.In 1989 a popular unrest started in Kashmir which to date has claimed over 30,000 lives ,militancy can any time ignite the thousand years old cultural and religious enmity into a nuclear holocaust.

Historical Introduction

Kashmir a land locked Himalayan kingdom comprising of 86000 square kilometres a that includes from the west where it borders with Afghanistan at an altitude of over 7000 feet ,where Hunza state a predominantly Shia Muslim of Agha Khan sect also marks the boundary with Chinese Sinkiang province and runs over the extreme wilderness ,a mass of mountains that include K-2 the second highest peak in the world and over the Broad Peak, Hidden Peak both over 8000 meters high, the world's largest glaciers out side polar region namely Siachen is also in the path of this imaginary line that also runs over the Aksai Chin plateau,Laddakh and moving further east it finally merges with the low land Himalayan mountain that veers off at Punjab ,its southern edges are the very edges of the mountain range that separates the agriculture based Punjab from the hilly Kashmir .that thus extends from this crescent edge that is the life line of both the Moen o Daro and Harappa civilisations that flourished on the very first western river the Mighty Indus ,on whose banks as it gushes down into Soan Civilisation, the very heart of the Buddhist empire of Asoka at Taxila close to Rawalpindi . The very next river is the famous Jhelum of Alexander the Great, here he defeated King Poros of India and later Alexander traversed down slope into Multan and then along Indus to Thatta, River Chenab is the third waterline of Kashmir that irrigates the granary of India ,Ravi River on whose bank is the Lahore the capital of the Afghan and Moghul empires, Sutlej and Beas Rivers are the other two ,which in totality makes Punjab ,the land of five rivers.it is close to historical Multan where Indus joins with Jhelum and others. The Punjabi rivers flows approximately 300-400 Kilometres, and this merger marks the Harrapan and Moen jo darian civilisation, both depends upon the very water that originates from those glaciers in high mountains of Kashmir.

Aryans drove the Dravidians[155] the natives of this river based civilisations to much further east where these Dravidians settled along River Sarswatti & Ganges whose origin is also the very same glaciers. This historical mind-set of superiority of Indus civilisation over the Ganges remained till the time when in 712 AD, Muhammad Bin Qasim an Arab, Sunni, from Umayyad caliphate finally defeated the Sindhi Hindu raja Dhar and set the foundation stone of the Islamic Arab Sunni state, by 990 AD a Shitte Muslim state was firmly placed at Multan having influence all along the Indus. The Punjab remains under the Hindu rajas, whose seat of power was distributed at Taxila, Peshawar, Lahore and Delhi. It was at the dawn of previous millennium when the very first Afghan Sunni Muslim warrior Mahmood of Ghazna the relic of the Aryan race not only ransacked the rich idol worshipping Hindu states of Ganges civilisation but also destroyed the shitte state of Multan, his descendants later fought among each other in the high mountains of Afghanistan but they nominated their Turkish, Central Asian, Sunni, slaves whom they had bought and later these very slaves, Qutb din Aibak, Iltmush, Balban etc. established the Delhi Sultanate ,there remained a constant tussle between the Turks and Afghans. The Hindus remained in a subservient way, out of the power house. The Mongol invasions and especially the Tamerlane's holocaust of 1399 AD in which over 1,00,000 exclusive Hindu women, children and old male prisoners were slaughtered in one night[156], however the Syed Muslims were spared all along his invasion route. Kashmir remained unmolested, it never invaded the plains of Punjab the way Afghans did, thus an image of docility shrouded their character, Babur came from

[155] Mohammed, Yunus,& Aradhana, Parmar ,*South Asia a Historical Narrative* {Oxford,Karachi ,2006},p.2-3.
[156] Tamerlane's autobiography Tuzk-e- Taimouri p 67.

Fergana in the present day Tajikistan, and by 1526 he defeated the sultan of Delhi Ibrahim Lodhi in the plains of Punjab,

It was Akbar the great who captured Kashmir in 1556 AD and from that time onward it remained under the governorship of either Moghuls or Afghans. Sikh religion also took birth in Punjab in the same period and later expanded among the peasantry the Jats. Which in later years remained confined to Punjab and although there is a considerable population of Sikhs in Canada and United Kingdom but these are the immigrants, no Sikh culture expanded into the Indus Civilisation, certain hill tribes of Kashmir most notable the Dogras of Jammu and Sandias of Poonch. During the reign of Jahangir the Sikh guru Arjun Singh[157] was tortured to death for his alleged support to the Jahangir's rebellious son Khurram was the historical accident as it put the Sikh religion against the Islam. Sikkim was influenced by the Islam in its infancy, the thoughts of Sufi saints Bullay Shah are integral part of granth sahib ,the foundation stone of Golden Temple the Mecca of Sikhs was laid by a Muslim saint Mian Mir, the land being given by Akbar the Great. The acts of Tamerlane, Jahangir and later Aurangzeb had two varying impact on the culture of the empire, a sense of deep insecurity was embossed on the non Muslims especially the Hindus and Sikhs on religious matters, on the other hand the supremacy of Islam and that of their non tolerance of other religions especially the brutality, ruthlessness and a disregard to humanity as displayed by the central Asian blood line rulers also created a superiority aura around the Muslims. Kashmir again displayed a unique sense of peace-loving Muslims living and ruling Hindus and Buddhists, Kashmiri Islamic brand was influenced by the Central Asian Sufi saints, this face of Islam was more tune to the geography of the mountainous region and more accommodative, yet it remained fundamental in nature, both Sunnis and Shias lived and fought on regular basis especially in days of muhaaram, the worst were the riots of 1886 in Srinagar.

In 1800 with Mughal emperor practically confined to Delhi, and rest of Punjab in a state of anarchy after the Abdalli's ravage of Delhi under the afghan governors at Lahore and Multan, a young Sikh ,Ranjeet Singh captured Lahore and became maharaja and the very first Sikh empire was founded that became a challenge to the Muslims, this Sikh empire that lasted till 1846,six more years then Maharajah Ranjit Singh incorporated,captured,annexed ,subjugated, ruled from Kabul{for a short period}in west ,Gilgit, Laddakh,Srinagar,Jammu in north ,Multan in south and under 1807 treaty with British East Company {the Christians who having arrived in subcontinent in 15th century from Portugal, Spain, England, Netherland and France as traders finally culminated in the superiority of the British soldiery ,firepower and discipline, who by this year were the kingmakers}that limits Singh's eastern boundary and influence till Sutlej. It was in 1820 that Ranjeet Singh was able to conquer the vale of Kashmir and later instead of keeping it under his direct control at Lahore; he rather made Ghulab Singh a Sikh Dogra chieftain of Jammu state. Statesman ship, diplomacy and bravery were the hallmarks of Ranjit Singh's rule and personality, he was handicapped with one eye, a fundamentalist Sikh yet as a ruler he set the very first example and conduct of a Sikh state and how the Hindus and Muslims will be treated in it and this later became a pattern in other Sikh states. Ranjit Singh had Muslim advisers most notable among them the Fakir brothers, Ranjeet was careful with money and instead of bearing the cost of garrisoning he preferred annual tax, he did this with Bahawalpur a desert state and mountainous Kashmir.

Ranjit Singh in a sense reflects the culture and mind set of a Punjabi who prefers his plain, green fields more than the mountains or desert, Punjabi lived on the land, irrigating it with ever flowing ever present fresh water of Kashmir. Ranjeet Singh did a lot to improve the irrigation system and so were

[157] *South Asia Narrative*,,p,139

the British who in 1846 were able to annex Punjab after a series of battles that took place at Chillianwala and Sobraon. Later both races, cultures and religions developed a deep trust and mutual respect for each others bravery and martial skills, at this decisive moment of sub continental history neither any Muslim nor any Hindu state came to the rescue of Punjab empire further more even raja Ghulab Singh remained aloof from this war, he was able to negotiate later the purchase of Kashmir Vale from British East India Company for 85 lakh rupees {present day US$1, 000, 00}.

Ghulab Singh was as brave as Ranjit Singh, he had no other option but to expand and explore towards north, east and west as in south the British had the plains of Punjab. Ghulab Singh's forces majority of them Sikhs but also Muslims as well, captured Laddakh, Gilgit, and ventured into Tibet as well. These were the areas, cultures and civilisations about which very little was known in the west. The European continental rivalry had its effects on the India as well, first it was the threat of Napoleon in 1807 which compelled British East India Company to send diplomats and explorers into Baluchistan and make treaties with Sikhs,[158] it also resulted in the First Anglo Afghan war as well later the fear of Czars replaced Napoleon and with this shift in paradigm the Kashmir especially its north western borders assume greater urgency and a great game started Kashmir also became the focal point of India's trade with central Asia albeit as an alternative to the much easy and economical route that passes through Khyber or Bolan passes. Kashmir which was ruled by Dillip Singh after Gulab Singh and his heirs later buckle under Raj's pressure and British explorers were allowed map the territorial boundaries of the Raj's empire, to station the British resident and in 1895 to have a residency with British officer and Dogra troops at Gilgit.Kashmir and few other states like Hyderabad Deccan,Kalat among over 550 other states that ranged from few kilometres in area to size equal or more than the British isles had varying degree of autonomy depending on the financial and cultural mind set of Viceroy who was all powerful and all princely rulers owe their rule to the Crown.

Among all the states Kashmir was the only major state that had a strategic geographical location and importance; it borders with Sinkiang province of China and Eastern Turkmenistan both predominating Muslims. The very first process of demarcating the eastern boundaries of India with Afghanistan and China resulted in 'Durand Line 1893'[159] as an aftereffect of military campaign with Afghanistan.

After settling the playing arena the Great Game started its second chakkar,that dictated extension of Raj's boundary and that necessitated a Crowns' presence at Gilgit which was established for a short life in 1870. Viceroy constitutionally castrated maharaja of Kashmir and Colonel Algernon Durand led the expedition through Rawalpindi- Srinagar- Gilgit in 1892-95 to establish a listening post for any Russian attack on India, in the process Hunza & Nagar states one of the last high mountain states that controlled passes that can allow any military or trade movement had to be subjugated. Durand Line had mark the western borders of India but northern were not demarcated and this created an opportunistic air among crown's representatives. Hunza had been playing a duel game the tracts across Khunjerab Pass had been a source of pride if nothing else for the Mir and British played the harp as long as they could and finally in 1914 much controversial McMahon's Line with China which kept on stretching depending upon the strategic harmony between the foreign office of India and Viceroy. 'A constant struggle to raise a stretch of Frontier 300 miles in length from a condition of incessant war, anarchy, and oppression into a state of fairly established peace',[160] Chinese had a

[158] Army Publishing House, *Campaigns of The Second Afghan War 1878-80*,pp25-37
[159] Alastair ,Lamb. *Kashmir A Disputed Legacy 1846-1990*,{Oxford ,Karachi,1991}p,32.

[160] Algernon Durand,*THE MAKING OF A FRONTIER FIVE YEARS' EXPERIENCES AND ADVENTURES IN GILGIT, HUNZA NAGAR, CHITRAL, AND THE EASTERN HINDU-KUSH* {Services Book Club 1992}p,1.

different version of the boundary, the claims of Hunza were fiercely contested and remained so till transfer of power from Raj to dominions of India and Pakistan. The same boundary issue was present at the area east of Laddakh in Aksai Chin area, where boundary of Kashmir or India was based upon an old map of 1865 drawn by the British geologist Johnson[161], it was a rough sketch, later the route of Aksai Chin was used by the Muslim warlords of Kashgaeria and eastern Turkmenistan while taking a sanctuary in Kashmir.

In 1935 British India and Maharaja Harri Singh signed a lease under which Gilgit Ggency {including Hunza} was taken on 60 years lease by the Raj, the Gilgit Scouts were already raised in 1915,consisting of local natives {six hundred in number} commanded by the British officers and mainly funded by the J&K state. The only two routes from India to China passes through Kashmir, the most easterly is the Jammu from Katoha in the Gurdaspur District, rail link goes from Sialkot to Jammu and from here the movement towards Srinagar is possible in fair weather due to intervening Banihal Pass, the most common route is from Rawalpindi along River Jhelum to Srinagar and then to Gilgit via Bunji and onwards to China.

Concept of Pakistan or amalgamation of Muslim majority provinces of west into an autonomous sovereignty either alone or part of the India was first floated in 1930 by Dr Iqbal at the annual meeting of Muslim League which claimed to be the only representative of the Indian Muslims later in 1940 a resolution was passed by the same party at Lahore.

Political system that evolved out of the 1857 war of independence or sepoy mutiny ushered India into a constitutional country, this transition resulted in various acts and regulations of Westminster, Indian national congress was established in 1877 the very first political party of India under a British civil servant, educational institution including exclusive Muslim college at Aligarh were created ,in 1906 an exclusive Muslim political party the all India Muslim league was baptised by the viceroy who also consented on the idea of having separate electorates for the Muslims of India and acknowledging the fact that despite their numerical inferiority they deserve 'weightage' in any advisory or legislative body or assembly thus laying the foundation stone for two nation theory which was later championed by the Muhammad Ali Jinnah who became the father of nation for Pakistan and strongly opposed by Mahatma Gandhi and congress , this attitude went through a see - saw which finally culminated in congress agreeing[162] to separation and transfer of power to two different constituent assemblies. Government of India Act of 1935 laid the road map for future India which it envisaged a federation with autonomous provinces and a centre dealing with communication, defence and foreign affairs. In the 1937 elections Muslim League was defeated in almost all provinces less Sindh, however the fortunes changed dramatically when Congress resigned from ministries soon after declaration of war by the Indian Government and Jinnah was more than willing to become the 'Devil's advocate' later Congress adopted a non cooperation attitude towards war effort and Muslim league threw its unflinching support for the same cause, it was this political background that finally resulted in Labour's Atlee at Downing Street to finally accede to the fact that with almost bankrupt British economy it is not feasible to hold on to the empire and independence for India was announced ,rising communal riots in 1946 lead to the decision on part of congress that instead of giving the whole

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[161] . Alastair Lamb,*Kashmir Legacy 1846-1990*, p,78.

[162] Syed,Ikram , *Modern Muslim India And the Birth Of Pakistan*{Islamic Culture ,Lahore,2000}pp 5,8-43.

provinces like Punjab and Bengal to Pakistan it will be more appropriate to demarcate them on the basis of Muslim and non Muslim population.

Maharjjah of Jammu was given the Vale of Kashmir by Ranjeet Singh in 1820 after its capture by the Sikhs, at that time the borders of frontier states were not defined in precise terms, Kashmir was the gateway to the Central Asia,it had the Chinese and Turkmenistan on its western and Northern ends but no body knew where the sovereignty of one ends and other starts. Small independent princely states were scattered all over the edges of the Kashmir like Laddakh,Hunza,Punyal,Yasin,Chitral on the northern and western edge {which now forms the Northern Frontier of Pakistan} since Ranjeet Singh kept the British at bay from entering into Punjab the natural route of exploration thus British had very little knowledge about the area beyond the Himalayas at least on Northern side but on Eastern end the British had been exploring with force thus they were able to enter into Sikkim,Bhutan,Nepal and finally Tibet and Burma. After the fall of Sikh empire in 1846 the British sold the Kashmir to Maharajja of Jammu under the treaty of Amritsar in 1846 for economic reason. But before that Maharajjah Ghulab Singh had ventured into the territories which were hitherto alien. He captured Laddakh a Bhuddist state in North ,Dagestan {Gilgit,Skardu} and put pressure on the Hunza and other states .

Strategic Aspect of Kashmir.

During the Great Game British were apprehensive of the Russian advance towards India and First Anglo Afghan War was a direct result of this fear and this fear varied with change of governments and viceroys' at London and Calcutta respectively apart from the western hypothesis through Afghanistan the northern and north western hypothesis of Russian military advance were also considered in the wake of second Anglo Afghan war in 1879 . British very rightly drew the conclusion that without proper defined and mutually agreed boundary of their Indian empire with Afghanistan and Russia there will always be a chance of an explosion in a charged political environments fuelled by the ever increasing interest of media and its becoming a determining factor in the out come of any general election at home. Anglo Russo treaty of 1883 was a direct result of this school of thought . It is at this point in history that British India seriously started work on the demarcation of its frontiers,

Western frontier demarcation resulted in 'Durand Line' with Afghanistan in 1893 which also marked the boundary of Afghanistan with China where despite the protest of Amir of Afghanistan Abdur Rehman regarding the inaccessibility and difficulty in maintaining Wakhan, a two hundred long and 60 kilometre wide strip was made part of the Afghanistan, thus a British India did not had any direct borders with Russia and Anglo-Sino frontier thus originates from this point. 'everything that happened in Kashmir between 1846 and 1947 was part in some way a product of this strategic policy'[163]

[163] Robert Wirsing,, *India Pakistan and the Kashmir Dispute*.regional conflict & its resolution, {MacMillan,,London,1994}p 186.

MacDonald-Macartney Line 1898-99[164],

it was also based upon the historical connections yet conforming to the reality of Great Game, small independent states like Hunza and Naltar were pressurised to severe link with the Sinkiang by giving up their claim of grazing areas in Sinkiang,Chinese also had a different point of view regarding this line, MacDonald-Mcartney line marked the border from tri junction at Wakhan to Karakorum Pass in the west and from this point till the McMahon Line the area remain demarcated and open.

McMahan Line

1n 1914 a Chinese ,Tibetain and British discuss the border issue at Simla, where political agent Sir McMahon drew the boundaries between British India & Tibet and between Tibet & China. Chinese did not agreed in totality with the proposed frontiers and left without signing the treaty but the borders with Tibet were signed. The northern areas of Kashmir including the Aksai Chin plains remained as no mans land as neither Kashmir had any historical claim over it neither the Turkmenistan/China had any, however the land route between the eastern and western end of Himalayas or between the Sinkiang and Tibet followed through Laddakh{Little Tibet}-Aksai Chin-Tibet.On the western end the frontier with China were agreed and became

British India's border from the junction at Wakhan moves east ward along the Himalayas to the jungles of Assam and Burma. The stark difference from the Durand Line is in the matter that where as in the west the British India had the administrative set up of Punjab province and as such the legal right to formulate the treaty with Afghanistan ,no such set up existed on Northern side. Kashmir borders towards north{China} remained open. There were two major trade routes with East Turkestan{later became Chinese Sinkiang autonomous region} remained undefined mainly due to the geography of the area and was based upon the historical tradition and culture. Moving further east Kashmir shared frontier with the Tibet and even further east the Assam province of British India also had borders with Tibet.

Since the threat to the India was not as grave from North as it was perceived from West and North West thus this border delineation took a slow pace but nevertheless they took some shape initially in the form of an agreement with Russia in 1907 which put Tibet under Chinese sphere of influence ,similar to the fate of Khanates of Central Asia.

Depiction on map remained controversial. Even before transfer of power the nationalist government of Chiang Kai Shek exchanged notes with British Indian government over the issue of northern frontiers especially showing Tibet outside the territory of China, and gradual encroachment into areas south of McMahon Line which they believed to be Chinese territory[165].Government of Tibet asked Indian government in October 1947 for the return of Tibetan territories including Bhutan, Sikkim and Darjeelin

China & Kashmir Border Disputes

[164] Ibid,p 98.
[165] Ibid,p 4

Pakistan was amongst the very few countries that recognised the PRC on its creation in 1948[166],however the matter was not that simple as it looks. The cold War era had started with world being divided into two distinct ideologies the capitalist and communist. Western civilisation headed by USA and UK were the markers of capitalism where as Russia and now China were the flag bearers of communism. Pakistan even before transfer of power had joined the western camp, Muhammad Ali Jinnah the first Governor General of Pakistan in his speech to the constituent assembly of Pakistan on 13th August 1947 was delighted to announce that American President had written him a letter and felicitated the new born state. All the leading politicians and military elite of Pakistan were educated, raised, groomed and indoctrinated with the western culture and its philosophy, religiously the Christian west was more close to heart than the non believing communist. The half a decade long second great war had brought the Chinese under Chiang Kai Sheik in the allies camp, the Chinese resistance to the Japanese was a crucial factor in the over all strategy of allies. Supplies to the China went through Bengal. After the defeat of nationalist Chiang in the hand of communist Mao, the nationalist formed a separate state in Formosa{Taiwan}and American refused to acknowledge the communist legality and supported Formosa ,where as Britain was quick to recognise the communist regime and so did Pakistan still a dominion of the crown.

Nehru was an idealist who championed non alignment and was a vocal voice for the rights of African and Asian states fighting for independence, he and Coun en lai formed a natural alliance ,thus the slogan of Hind Chini bahi bahi[167]{Indians and Chinese are brother}became a corner stone of Indian foreign policy.

> The China - Pakistan boundary extends for 325 miles generally south eastward from the Afghanistan tripoint, situated at approximately 37° 03' North and 74° 34' East, to the Karakorum Pass.
>
> On March 14, 1899, the British described the so-called Macdonald line to China to "recognize the frontier [i.e. boundary] as laid down by its clearly marked geographical features." This delimitation, which was never acknowledged by the Chinese, commenced "…on the Little Pamir from the Peak at which the Anglo - Russian Boundary Commission of 1895 ended their work, it runs south-east, crossing the Karachikar stream at Mintaka
>
> Aghazi; thence the main ridge of the Muztagh range. It follows this to the south, passing by the Khunjerab Pass, and continuing southward to the peak just north of the Shimshal Pass.At this point the boundary leaves the crest and follows a spur running east approximately parallel to the road from the Shimshal Pass to the Hunza post at Darwaza. The line turning south through the Darwaza post crosses the road from the Shimshal pass then ascends the nearest high spur, and regains the main crests which the boundary will
>
> again follow, passing through the Mustagh, Gasherbrun, and Saltoro Passes by the Karakorum…"1. In the west, this boundary began well north of the current boundary commencing at the northern point of the Wakhan corridor rather than the southern. From the Kharchanai Pass to the Khunjerab Pass, however, the two delimitations coincide.From the latter pass to the point south of Darband (Darwaza) where the main ridge is joined, the newly-demarcated boundary is situated a considerable distance to the east of the Macdonald line. The southern sector, however, is again identical.

[166] Mujtaba Razvi,The Frontiers Of Pakistan,A study of Frontier Problems in Pakistan's foreign policy{National.Karachi1971} pp 166-174.

[167] Graham, Chapman *The Geo Politics of South Asia,from early empires to the nuclear age{*Ashgate,Surrey,2009}p 209.

China and Kashmir 1948-1962

The difference of ideology between Pakistan and China was a drag on developing cordial relation between the two states . Pakistan had its first trade accord with China in 1950 when due to refusal of Indian government to acknowledge the newly set value of rupee against its own rupee resulted in its refusal to barter coal in lieu of Jute which it had been doing before,China did provide coal to Pakistan on barter system,other than this there was no significant steps on both sides rather the relationship and trust reached an ebb when in 1953 the foreign minister of Pakistan Sir ZafarUllah Khan ,the very man who had spoken for the inclusion of China in United Nations over Formosa,informed Pakistani parliament ' That steps have been taken to safeguard our Northern borders against the possible Chinese incursion' *'In 1954 maps were published in China which showed over 40,000 square miles of J&K area to be part of China…strategically important pases like Mintka,Kilik,Khunjerab and Shimshal as part of China…they also built road linking Sinkiang to Tibet passing through north western corner of Laddakh…. Most significant development and Pakistan couldnot fail to take notice of new situation'*[168]

Kashmir-Pakistan- China-India and British legacy.

Maharjjah of Jammu was given the Vale of Kashmir by Ranjeet Singh in 1820 after its capture by the Sikhs, at that time the borders of frontier states were not defined in precise terms, Kashmir was the gateway to the Central Asia,it had the Chinese and Turkmenistan on its western and Northern ends but no body knew where the sovereignty of one ends and other starts. Small independent princely states were scattered all over the edges of the Kashmir like Laddakh,Hunza,Punyal,Yasin,Chitral on the northern and western edge {which now forms the Northern Frontier of Pakistan} since Ranjeet Singh kept the British at bay from entering into Punjab the natural route of exploration thus British had very little knowledge about the area beyond the Himalayas at least on Northern side but on Eastern end the British had been exploring with force thus they were able to enter into Sikkim,Bhutan,Nepal and finally Tibet and Burma. After the fall of Sikh empire in 1846 the British sold the Kashmir to Maharajja of Jammu under the treaty of Amritsar in 1846 for economic reason. But before that Maharajjah Ghulab Singh had ventured into the territories which were hitherto alien. He captured Laddakh a Bhuddist state in North ,Dagestan {Gilgit,Skardu} and put pressure on the Hunza and other states .

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[168] Razvi ,*Frontiers of Pakistan* ,p170

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Kashmir Frontiers

British India's border from the junction at Wakhan moves east ward along the Himalayas to the jungles of Assam and Burma. The stark difference from the Durand Line is in the matter that where as in the west the British India had the administrative set up of Punjab province and as such the legal right to formulate the treaty with Afghanistan ,no such set up existed on Northern side. Kashmir borders towards north{China} remained open. There were two major trade routes with East Turkestan{later became Chinese Sinkiang autonomous region} remained undefined mainly due to the geography of the area and was based upon the historical tradition and culture. Moving further east Kashmir shared frontier with the Tibet and even further east the Assam province of British India also had borders with Tibet.

Since the threat to the India was not as grave from North as it was perceived from West and North West thus this border delineation took a slow pace but nevertheless they took some shape initially in the form of an agreement with Russia in 1907 which put Tibet under Chinese sphere of influence ,similar to the fate of Khanates of Central Asia.

Tibet ,Kashmir and Afghanistan ,similarities.

There are many similarities in terms of political significance of these three regions when seen from the Great Game periscope, all were the buffer states against any attack on British India. Where as Britain tried in vain overtly and covertly to bring Afghanistan as a part of British India . Kashmir was bit different in nature ,it had signed the Amritsar treat in 1846 and agreed to have British resident and to act on the advice of him in foreign matters. For the purpose of 1893 Durand Line in which the extreme northern edges of the Kashmir were converted into a Gilgit Agency having British troops being stationed there.

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On the western end the frontier with China were agreed and became MacDonald-Macartney Line 1898-99[170],it was also based upon the historical connections yet conforming to the reality of Great Game, small independent states like Hunza and Naltar were pressurised to severe link with the Sinkiang by giving up

[169] Robert Wirsing,, *India Pakistan and the Kashmir Dispute*.regional conflict & its resolution, {MacMillan,,London,1994}p 186.

[170] Ibid,p 98.

their claim of grazing areas in Sinkiang,Chinese also had a different point of view regarding this line, MacDonald-Mcartney line marked the border from tri junction at Wakhan to Karakorum Pass in the west and from this point till the McMahon Line the area remain demarcated and open.

Mc Mohan Line depiction on map remained controversial. Even before transfer of power the nationalist government of Chiang Kai Shek exchanged notes with British Indian government over the issue of northern frontiers especially showing Tibet outside the territory of China, and gradual encroachment into areas south of McMahon Line which they believed to be Chinese territory[171].Government of Tibet asked Indian government in October 1947 for the return of Tibetan territories including Bhutan, Sikkim and Darjeeling. Indian prime minister Nehru on 20th November 1950 stated in parliament 'the frontier from Laddakh to Nepal is chiefly defined by the long usage and custom' on 6th December 1950 Nehru again stated Himalaya's formed India's traditional northern frontier'[172]

Second Kashmir War, China-India 1962

The second war in Kashmir took place in 1962 when the border dispute between China and India that had persisted since the 1914 Simla conference resulted in the armed conflict with Chinese troops invading the Aksai Chin area and forcibly occupying the No Mans land.The colonial legacy is much blamed for this conflict yet a realistic approach reveals that the British India did entered into frontier agreements with China and kept the interest of India as paramount in all these treaties namely the McMahon Line and MacDonald Macartney Line, the general principle of border delineation were followed however actual demarcation on ground not only takes time but also has number of issues basing upon the interpretation of the treaty, maps available and ground reality have to be solved. It happened in the Durand Line also where the four commissions tool almost years to mark the boundary on ground and even then it was not completed. Same was the case between the Russo-Afghan border settlement in which in 1922 Russia did returned some areas back to Afghanistan. In case of China and India the issue took another shape, Nehru's total idealism and reliance on the pre independence treaties and refusal to enter into any kind of negotiations with china knowing fully well the Chinese sensitivities over Tibet resulted in China resorting to violence as means of policy.

Tibet was the key issue, Tibet is to China what Kashmir is to Pakistan. Tibet was an independent state similar to Afghanistan but it was claimed by the Chinese as part of their territory basing upon historical relevance similar to Afghanistan claims over the Mohmand and Pishin areas in Pakistan. The route to Tibet from Sinkiang also passes through Aksai Chin plains {which are similar to the Deosai Plains in Baltistan }.

Conflict ended with a complete shattering of Indian military confidence and nation morale.

It brought a new element in the Kashmir dispute between Pakistan and India which originally had only them as the contestant of the vale and revolved around the ideological aspect of two nation theory at least from Pakistani view point but this Chinese factor injected the territorial claims pending from British India era into a reality.

To many observers and scholars the war was avoidable. One key issue is the cultural dimension of the conflict, the British had the military backup to support their claim or to enforce the treaties which India lacked but what Nehru failed to understand was the post Indian culture without having the traditional

[171] Ibid,p 4
[172] Karankur Gupta, *The Hidden History of theSino –Indian Frontier*,{Mukerjee,Calcutta,1974} p,9

support of north western Muslim{Afghan}militant population as part of over all strength of India. Without the martial races of western mountains that defend the

Pakistan China Border Dispute.

China also had disagreement with the Pakistan over the territorial issues in the Kashmir basing upon the MacDonald – Macartney Line ,soon after China's taking over of Tibet in 1950 the matter was analysed by the Pakistan and there fore in 1953 the foreign minister of Pakistan Sir Zafarullah reiterated Pakistan's stance in Parliament ' integrity of borders' same was repeated by the President Ayub Khan in 1959[173] yet it was he who initiated the border settlement at official level when in 1961 Pakistan send a letter to Peking offering to resolve the affairs, the reply came after a year[174] but it was positive in outlook., thus marked the start of Pakistan –China unique friendship.

China dispute with legacy of British India line on map was not that serious in nature as compared to Tibet. China did not had any historical claim over the Gilgit Agency territories ,over 3400 square miles of area was disputed. In the region of Hunza State, Chinese claim was that

'border ran southward from Khunjerab Pass to the Karakorum mountains before turning eastward, Pakistani maps on the other hand shows the border running east ward from Khunjerab Pass to the sharp bend in Mustagah at the Shaksgum River…in the end Pakistan got 1350 square miles {including ¾ of K-2 mountain} and china was left with 2,050 square miles'.[175]

Bhutto Line

The treaty was signed on March 2nd 1963 and inked by Chen Yi Chinese minister of external affairs and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto minister of Pakistan external affairs, this new border line was based upon ' traditional customary boundary line, including natural features and in a spirit of equality, mutual benefit and friendly co-operation'.[176]

Spirit of equality, mutual benefit and friendly co-operation thus became the corner stone of this new friend ship and the very man to forge this strategic alliance for the cause of Kashmir was none other than the Bhutto,the Oxford- Berkley graduate in law and history. He as such understood the legality of the Pakistan's borders with China but also comprehend the historical and philosophical compulsions of the Great Game in the Cold War environments. Bhutto was as socialist and nationalist as Nehru but because of generation gap and his American educational back ground he developed the keen understanding of world politics much better then the Indian. Another key difference in the settlement of boundary dispute between Pakistan and China as compare to the same dispute between China and India lies in the traditional approach towards the North West and North East frontiers of India as exhibited by the British and Sikhs.

North west was more militant than the North east and as such more flexible approach was adopted in dealing with North west then the North east, Bhutto adopted the same approach.

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[173] Razvi,*The Frontiers of Pakistan*,p,172 also see Pervaiz,Cheema, *Pakistan's Defence Policy ,1947-58* {MacMillan,London,1990} pp ,53-57.

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[175] Ibid,p 176.

[176] Chai ,Winberg,ed, *Basic Documents on the Foreign Relations of the Peoples Republic of China* 1948-1971. P,304.

Field surveys,[177] which began in July 1963, were completed by mid-July 1964. Air photography was completed in the period June - October 1963. Four field survey teams placed the forty demarcation pillars on the boundary… only the passes and the relatively low area east of the Shimshal Pass were physically demarcated…. The China - Pakistan boundary extends for 325 miles generally south eastward from the Afghanistan tripoint, situated at approximately 37° 03' North and 74° 34' East, to the Karakorum Pass The high peaks and ridges elsewhere would serve as an effective boundary without demarcation.

One vital aspect of the treaty was 'it scrapped India's territorial claim reaching north into China's Sinkiang province'[178]

TREATIES AND OTHER ACTS

The 1963 boundary agreement is the first formal, international treaty to delimit the boundary between the Indian sub-continent and Chinese Turkestan through the traditional frontier west of the Karakorum Pass. In spite of Indian efforts to discuss the region earlier with Chinese Communist authorities, the latter refused to negotiate on the boundary because the region was "beyond the scope of the conference".

***A. Agreement between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of Pakistan on the boundary between China's Sinkiang and the contiguous areas, the defense of which is under actual control of Pakistan, signed in* Peking, March 2, 1963.**

The 1963 Sino - Pakistani agreement delimited the boundary as follows:

Article Two

... (1) Commencing from its northwestern extremity at height 5,630 metres (a peak, the

reference co-ordinates of which are approximately Longitude 74° 34' E and Latitude 37°03' N), the boundary line runs generally eastward and then southeastward strictly along the main watershed3 between the tributaries of the Tashkurgan River of the Tarim River system on the one hand and the tributaries of the Hunza River of the Indus River system on the

1 Quoted in Lamb, Alastair, The China - India Border, Oxford University Press, London, 1964, pp. 181 - 2.

2 Report of the Officials of the Governments of India and the People's Republic of China on the Boundary

Question, Government of India, MEA, New Delhi, 1961, p.5.

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[177] **International Boundary Study,No. 85 – November 15, 1968,China – Pakistan**

Boundary,(Country Codes: CH-PK),The Geographer

Office of the Geographer,Bureau of Intelligence and Research

www.fsu.edu

[178] Ibid,p,76

3 The proper term is water divide. A water divide separates two drainage basins or watersheds. A divide is

a line; watershed is an area.

other hand, passing through the Kilik Daban (Dawan), the Mintaka Daban (Pass), the Kharchanai Daban (named on the Chinese map only), the Kutejilga Daban (named on the Chinese map only), and the Parpik Pass (named on the Pakistan map only), and reaches the Khunjerab (Yutr) Daban (Pass).

(2) After passing through the Khunjerab (Yutr) Daban (Pass), *the boundary line runs generally southward along the above-mentioned main watershed up to a mountaintop south of the Daban (Pass), where it leaves the main watershed to follow the crest of a spur lying generally in a south-easterly direction, which is the watershed between the Akjilga River*

(a nameless corresponding river on the Pakistan map) on the one hand, and the Taghdumbash (Oprang River) and the Keliman Su (Oprang Jilga) on the other hand.According to the map of the Chinese side, the boundary line, after leaving the southeastern extremity of this spur, runs along a small section of the middle line of the bed of the Keliman Su to reach its confluence with the Kelechin River. According to the map of the Pakistan side, the boundary line, after leaving the southeastern extremity of this spur, reaches the sharp bend of the Shaksgam or Mustagh River.

(3) From the aforesaid point, the boundary line runs up the Kelechin River (Shaksgam or Muztagh River) along the middle line of its bed to its confluence (reference co-ordinates approximately Longitude 76° 02' E. and Latitude 36° 26' N.) with the Sorbulak Daria (Shimshal River or Braldu River).

(4) From the confluence of the aforesaid two rivers, the boundary line, according to the map of the Chinese side, ascends the crest of a spur and runs along it to join the Karakoram Range main watershed at a mountain-top (reference co-ordinates approximately Longitude 75° 54' E. and Latitude 36° 15' N.), which on this map is shown as belonging to the Shorbulak Mountain. According to the map of the Pakistan side, the boundary line from the confluence of the above-mentioned two rivers ascends the crest of a

corresponding spur and runs along it; passing through Height 6,520 metres (21,300 feet) till it joins the Karakoram Range main watershed at a peak (reference co-ordinates approximately Longitude 75° 57' E. and Latitude 36° 03' N.).(5) Thence, the boundary line, running generally southward and then eastward, strictly follows the Karakoram Range main watershed which separates the Tarim River drainage system from the Indus River drainage system, passing through the East Mustagh Pass

(Muztagh Pass), the top of the Chogri Peak (K2), the top of the Broad Peak, the top of the Gasherbrum Mountain (8068) Indirakoli Pass (named on the Chinese map only) and the top of the Teram Kangri Peak, and reaches its southeastern extremity at the Karakoram Pass.

II. The alignment of the entire boundary line, as described in Section I of this Article, has been drawn on the 1/one million scale map of the Chinese side in Chinese and the 1/one million scale map of the Pakistan side in English, which are signed and attached to the present Agreement.

III. In view of the fact that the maps of the two sides are not fully identical in their representation of topographical features, the two Parties have agreed that the actual features on the ground shall

prevail, so far as the location and alignment of the boundary described in Section I is concerned; and that they will be determined as far as possible by Joint survey on the ground.

Article Three

Two parties have agreed that:

I. Wherever the boundary follows a river, the middle line of the river bed shall be the boundary line; and that

II. Wherever the boundary passes through a Daban (Pass), the water-parting line thereof shall be the boundary line.The final delimitation contained in Article II and III has been quoted in its entirety.

Article IV

created a Joint Boundary Demarcation Commission and provided for the necessary surveys to produce the demarcation and a jointly-prepared set of accurate maps. These results were to be embodied in a final protocol replacing the 1:1,000,000 maps annexed to the agreement. The inclusion in the delimitation of two differing maps, each purporting to show the same boundary, has been done by the Chinese in several recent boundary

treaties. Marked differences in relief representation are the basic reasons.

Article V *provided for the peaceful resolution of future disputes while*

Article VI *stated "The two Parties have agreed that after the settlement of the Kashmir dispute between Pakistan and India, the sovereign authority concerned will re-open negotiations with the Government of the People's Republic of China… so as to sign a Boundary Treaty to replace the present*

agreement."

Article VII *stated the agreement entered into force with the signature of the*

parties.

B. Protocol to the Agreement … signed at Rawalpindi, March 26, 1965

The text of the protocol and the large-scale maps appended to it have not been publicly released. However, the Survey of Pakistan has furnished a trace of the new boundary

which is satisfactory for the alignment. Presumably, the survey crews found considerable differences in positioning of features along the boundary. For example, definite movement of places eastward is apparent in the central sector of the boundary. The Oprang Jilga is some four miles off from its position on older Survey of India maps.

Field surveys, *which began in July 1963, were completed by mid-July 1964. Air photography was completed in the period June - October 1963. Four field survey teams placed the forty demarcation pillars on the boundary. It would appear from the length of the boundary and the low number of*

pillars that only the passes and the relatively low area east of the Shimshal Pass were physically demarcated. The high peaks and ridges elsewhere

would serve as an effective boundary without demarcation.

Third Kashmir War 1965.

China adopted a neutral stance in the war and neither tried to resolve the Tibet's border disagreement with India however China remained favourable towards Pakistan by supplying arms and ammunition. War was the brainchild of Bhutto it failed to achieve its primary aims but its post war consequences brought Pakistan much more closer to China than through a normal course of history. Western military sanctions made Chinese military hardware the life line of Pakistan military. Karakorum Highway was built through Gilgit Agency area joining Pakistan and Chinese Sinkiang province ,thereby opening the vista between Central Asia and Punjab.

NJ 9842 & China.

In 1980 the Siachen conflict in the extreme northern edge of J&K in the most rugged barren cold glaciated Siachen Glacier close to the 1963 China-Pakistan boundaray at an elevation of above 6000 meters took its birth whose genesis lied in the cartographic production of maps that were distributed by the American Department of Defence, National Geographic Alas of the World[1981] the Times Atlas of The World {1981} all showed the border of Pakistan extending to Karakorum Pass and touching the Chinese border.[179] Robert Wirsing Professor of International Studies at University of California inquired from the Defence Department which admitted the error regarding this change .From 1974 onwards when Bhutto waived off the royality over the peaks a sudden increase of mountaineers started coming to the area which boasted of having K-2,Broad Peak,Hidden Peak and Golden Peak all above 8000 meters and situated within a days march of each others base camp. It was their narrative which highlighted the Indian military mountaineering expedition over Siachen Glacier in 1980 that sparked a reaction from Pakistan and by 1987 almost 20,000 troops were deployed on both sides of the glacier fighting for survival against frost bites and pulmonary diseases amidst temperature falling 30 degrees below freezing point. A ceasefire was agreed by India & Pakistan in 2004 which is still in vogue but no decision has been agree upon reducing the number of troops.

Professor Wirsing concludes that ' CFL/LOC ends at NJ 9842,and there does not exist today any known international agreement that would warrant delineating any sort of boundary between Karakorum pass and map coordinate NJ9842.karachi agreement is vague on the subject of the CFL's terminal point…the truth is that the inner boundary between Indian and Pakistani held parts of Kashmir is today unquestionably incomplete, its northernmost sector awaits delimitation.'[180]

[179] Ibid,p79
[180] Ibid,pp 82-83

Post Mao China and Kashmir

After Mao's death in 1978 China went through a transition and open market reforms resulted in ushering China into an era of prosperity. Russian invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 was the culminating point of over two hundred years of Great Game and it resulted in the disintegration of the it. China supported Pakistan yet no major development took place on the Kashmir. However Chinese support and stance on Kashmir became more realistic, it insisted on Pakistan to 'solve the issue bilaterally with India'. The real crises in Kashmir started in 1989 when a genuine public uprising started in J&K which initially remained without Pakistan's support but as it gained momentum it became a passion for Pakistan and its military to support it overtly and covertly.

Afghan Jihad had inseminated the Pakistan social fabric with militancy and it became obvious that these men mostly in their youth who had been fighting for a decade purely for the pleasure of war in the name of religion will seek another battle field to full fill their religious obligation, this syndrome was not only restricted to Pakistan only but Muslim population of Central Asia was also part of it.

Kargil was another attempt by the Pakistan or more specifically Pakistan Army to resolve the Kashmir issue . The chain of events was similar to the 1948 First Kashmir War and objective was to cut off the Indian supply route to Leh, India reacted much more swiftly than anticipated by the Pakistan and through diplomacy the war was averted .In the whole issue which lasted a summer China remained quiet and neutral.

China also adopted a more reconciliatory attitude towards India and its dispute . Visit of Rajiv Gandhi the Indian Premier to China in 1986 was the beginning and China reciprocated warmly. China thus adopted an even handedness attitude and policy in Kashmir despite the fact that relationship between Pakistan and China gain strength every day, Pakistan was provided nuclear technology and military cooperation which is unprecedented in Pakistan's military history[181].

9/11 and Chinese attitude in Kashmir

China's stance on Kashmir has been affected by the 9/11 as it has brought forward the issue of Islamic militancy and its potency. China has over 16 million Muslims living in the Sinkiang province adjoining Kashmir. There have been an unrest among the Muslim population that resulted in riots in Urumqui in 1997 killing over a dozen people. Islamic resurgence in Central Asia is the biggest threat to the Chinese booming economy and its very existence even. One should keep in my mind that Soviet Federation collapsed from Islamic militancy. Pakistan is generally perceived to be the hub of Islamic ideology and as the leader of Sunni Islam as compare to Iran which represents the Shia sect . Thus any religious uprising in Kashmir is bound to affect the neighbouring Chinese Muslims who are asking for more autonomy. Xinjiang province of China has certain parallels with the Tibet in terms of Chinese influence on respective political struggle.

[181] http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/library/news/pakistan/2010/pakistan-100619-irna03.htm. Retrieved 2010-12-30.also

The China-Pakistan Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Good-neighbourly Relations, signed and ratified by both the sides on April 5, 2005 and January 4, 2006 respectively, in the main, binds the two nations to desist from 'joining any alliance or bloc which infringes upon the sovereignty, security and territorial integrity of the other side'. It also forbids actions of similar nature by both that include the conclusion of treaties of this nature with a third country… Contracting Parties shall adhere to the principle of non-encroachment on national territories and boundaries in international law and strictly observe the boundary agreements between the two countries..[182]

Chinese policy towards Kashmir is benefitting Pakistan,the construction of Karakorum Road which is undergoing expansion and repair these days under Chinese supervision will ultimately serve the trade and commerce among two countries. The construction of Satpara hydro power dam at Skardu which became operative in 2010 there by ushering the Baltistan into a new era of prosperity . The people of Pakistan in general and residents of Gilgit Baltistan in particular are reaping the harvest of Pakistan China border agreement and friendship. In 1992 when I was in Skardu ,I could not find a proper warm jacket but in 2005 winters when I was again there,I saw markets full of branded warm clothing destined for European markets made in China and transported to Pakistan, every body now can afford them. There is hardly any aspect of local life that is not affected or depended upon Chinese goods ranging from children's stationery items, food stuff, mobiles, electronic goods to heavy trucks.

On the other end of Kashmir the Chinese policy towards Kashmir is a source of constant irritant in Sino-Indo relations. The issue of Visas by Chinese to Indians and natives of Kashmir have different values. Chinese were issuing stapled visas to the residents of Kashmir and India took a serious note of that.,as reported by the Iranian News Agency in November 2011.

'China appears to be finally responding to India's concerns over the issuance of stapled visas to people of Jammu and Kashmir, a matter taken up recently by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh with his Chinese counterpart Wen Jiabao… The Chinese have been issuing visa on a separate sheet, stapled to the passports of residents of Jammu and Kashmir for more than a year, thereby questioning state's status as the integral part of India…. Singh stressed the need for India and China to show sensitivity to each other's core issues while meeting Wen in Hanoi last month on the margins of ASEAN summit.'[183]

Conclusion.

Kashmir issue has many facets the very dispute over its accession that erupted in 1947 was a bi lateral one revolving around ideology ,security and economic compulsion from Pakistan and similar views were held by the India . Now after six decades the issue has become a tri partite with China having equal stakes.

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[182] S. Rajan **China: Revisiting the 2005 Friendship Treaty with Pakistan** ***http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-8/31/content_11974197.htm***/

[183] http://www.asianresearch.org/articles/2528.html. Retrieved 2010-07-16.,accessed on 22 January 31, 2011.

Pakistan was wise enough to settle the border dispute with China and secured freedom of action in Kashmir apart from friendship with China. India however had to face two issues one regarding Kashmir and other in terms of Tibet both involving China and it is its failure that violence erupted out of that souring the relationship with China

The population of Kashmir is divided into a varied breed with over all Muslim majority but that majority does not mean that Kashmir in totality align it self with Pakistan and neither it gives freedom of prosperity and peace as long as it remains in status Quo and to change its status quo requires consent of all three nations especially that of China due to legality of past treaties and the realities of new millennium.

Kashmir has suffered and prospered also due to the conflict, Pakistan has strategic interest in Kashmir which have been fully filled in all these years ,the water accord and the nuclear umbrella which it has achieved through the Chinese assistance has solved the security issue which was predominant in the early decades of its birth. Same can be written about India also, it has survived the storm and is now poised to be the third biggest economy second after China, therefore these two can also ill afford to engage themselves in a costly arms race or conflict.

General Musharraf is the only living Pakistani head of the state who due to historical accident of 9/11 came out with fresh out look towards the resolving of issue by side stepping from the Pakistan fundamental stance of resolving the issue on the basis of UNO resolutions and that through a plebiscite ,however his exile has again brought the issue back to square zero. Decision of Pakistani Parliament to elevate the areas of Kashmir especially in Gilgit Agency to full provincial status is a fair indicator of flexibility in Pakistan's attitude towards the cause, his proposals are similar to Johan Galtung, a pioneer of peace and conflict resolution studies, who currently heads the Sweden based transnational foundation for peace and research, envisaged a five point solution to the Kashmir conflict on the following ways: *Self-determination Principle Condominium Confederation Dual Citizenship International Security Force*[184]

Galtung's proposals or Musharraf's Kashmir solution are not the instant cure for the reason that Kashmir's own identity is not even clear, it is not one state composed of one ethnic group demanding freedom rather it has Muslims, Hindoos ,Bhuddists all claiming historical preferences, even if one accepts the Galtung proposal the issue of China is still not addressed and without having Chinese on the table along with India and Pakistan a long lasting peace in Kashmir is a distant reality. Kashmir issue which at present is relatively quiet is bound to rear up again after the American troops with drawl from Afghanistan. Islamic militancy in the area can derail the economic journey of almost all players and there is little that can be done to avert that.

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[184] Jyoti M. Pathania *Review of Galtung's solution towards Kashmir conflict ,*South Asia Analysis Group paper N0,1183.

Self-determination Principle: This means freedom of the people of the region to determine their own political status; independence. By this mechanism, Jammu and Ladakh will remain part of the Indian union, Azad Kashmir will remain part of Pakistan and the problem that will remain is of the Kashmir valley.

Condominium: means a joint management or as Musharraf puts it *jointman ship*, this would give both India and Pakistan a chance for creative co-management of the Kashmir valley. This would also mean that the valley would remain undivided. civil society cooperation takes place across the border; meetings of families on either side of LOC, local economic cooperation, cultural cooperation, softening the Azad Kashmir border.

Confederation: A confederation is an association of sovereign states or communities usually created by treaty but often later adopting a common constitution. They are established for dealing with critical issues such as defence, foreign affairs, common currency, and foreign trade. Herein the final supremacy resides with the sate governments than the central government. This type of arrangement if followed between the four parts i.e. Ladakh, Jammu, Kashmir valley, Azad Kashmir, then the borders would be porous with free flow of persons and goods, residence and i

Dual Citizenship: Residents in all four parts of the region can have passports with dual identity if the citizen so wants. For example mention can be made of both republic of India and Pakistan. Both the Indian and the Pakistani government would need a constitutional reform to accommodate states within their unions with double identities of Delhi and Islamabad. Joint Projects like joint water management or exchange of scholars and students will also improve relations.

International Security Force: For security aspect an international force sanctioned both by the UN Security Council and organisation of Islamic conference (OIC) might be considered, since there must be Muslim participation in the security forces.

Pakistan and India have none to blame than themselves for not finding a way out of Kashmir in the early years when it was only between them but now the concept of UNO peace keeping force next to Chinese borders is a complicated case. Shanghai Cooperation Organisation{SCO} now emerges as another ray of hope for Kashmir cause,being an Asian organisation having Russia and China as its members one can hope that it will play a key role..

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China Trade: A Major Factor in Pak-China Relations http://www.suite101.com/content/china-trade-a-major-factor-in-pak-china-relations-a322701#ixzz1BqZAX66b

Defence White Paper 1946

None influence British way of war in post WW2 as much as the first Labour premier, Mr Atlee's policy and thinking was to avoid any clash with Russian and to withdraw forces from all such areas including Middle East and India and to have a defence line across the Africa. He was the first to grasp the fragility of empire in post war era 'Its not a unit that can be defended by itself, it was the creation of sea power and with the advent of air power…empire scattered over five continents cannot be defended with a fleet based on island fortress, its gone'[185].Mr Atlee instead came up with the idea of having a commonwealth of Britain former colonies. Poor financial conditions of economy and social programme of his could not afford traditional strategic culture of empire and confrontation. By 1946, UK had to take a 3.75 billion $ loan from USA, yet UK was the highest spender on defence surpassing even USA.

It was in these backgrounds of ideology and economics that Labour announced the forthcoming independence to India in 1947 and later to Burma as well. Military did not agreed with the prime minister and in January 1947 the three chiefs stressed the retention of Middle East bases and influence, the other bone of contention was the shortage of manpower and on both these issues the three chiefs threatened to resign[186],.

[185] Olav Riste, ed , *Western Security the Formulative Years 1947-1953*{New York; Coloumbia University Press,1985},p.32.
[186] David Devereux, *The Formulation of British Defence Policy towards Middle East 1848-1956*{London,Macmillian,1990}p.45.

Transfer of Power 1947

Lord Mountbatten the last viceroy of India announced the plan on 3rd June 1947[187] and later in a press conference highlighted his plan of transfer of power which he advanced from June 1948 to August 1947, the independent states that included Kashmir and Jammu state had the option of either joining either dominion or remain independent, however the last option of any state was never seriously considered and all princely states were expected to join. There were no conditions on the ruler regarding his choice of accession ,it was presumed that logic would prevail upon all and these rajas will follow the rule of majority thus Muslim majority state of J&K to join Pakistan and Hindu majority states of Hyderabad and Junnagarh to join India in all the cases cited the rulers were from minority .

Kashmir had evolved its own distinct political system which was not much different from the other states of its size like Hyderabad Deccan yet due to its strategic location and ethnic distribution Kashmir state was unique in India, the first political party in Kashmir was formed in 1931 when a serious riots broke out in Kashmir[188] over a mosque issue the crisis ended with over thirty rioters being shot dead, the two main political parties were National Congress which was ideologically closed to Indian Congress it was led by Sheikh Abdullah who had a master's degree in chemistry from Aligarh College he became a focal point in Kashmir politics he remained in and out of Maharaja's prison on quite a regular basis, Sheikh was initially employed as a school headmaster but his marriage with a rich family made politics rather easy for him, sheikh had rather liberal views about the religion and communal issues in a sense he was a combination of both Jinnah and Nehru,he was the youngest of the three.

Muslim conference was the other major political party that became politically aligned with Jinnah's Muslim League .Kashmir political system in 1947 was autocratic in nature with a prime minister heading the cabinet, all powers remained in the hands of the Maharajah, State had its own well equipped army and civil service, the observation of the travellers and government officials was very poor about the human rights in the state[189] especially the plight of the Muslim population, but keeping in view the geography, history, economy of the state there seems to be little options available to the rulers. Kashmir had two general elections in which through a complicated system of voting and nomination an elected legislative assembly of Kashmir was in sitting.The logical perception of all the leaders especially the Muslims was absolutely correct to look forward in having state of Jammu and Kashmir as part of Pakistan.

The attitude of Mountbatten towards the Kashmir in those critical days is still under research, he was certainly conscious of the strategic value of Kashmir basing upon his 3rd June plan there is no reason not to believe that he {Mountbatten} must be convinced that Kashmir is going to Pakistan. For the demarcation of the area{Punjab and Bengal} a boundary commission was set up under Sir Cyril Radcliffe a prominent lawyer, his mandate was 'To demarcate the boundaries on the general principles of Muslim and non Muslim population and keeping other factors'.[190]

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[187] *Partition Of Punjab Official Papers* ,pp 45-65.
[188] Lamb ,Kashmir Disputed Legacy,p,89.
[189] Ibid,p,87
[190] http://www.legislation.gov.uk ***Indian Independence Act 1947 {accessed on 3rd November 2010} also see*** Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema *The Politics of the Punjab Boundary Award working Paper No 1, September 2000,{University of Heidelberg}*

The land routes from united India to Kashmir and Central Asia all were bound to go into Pakistan i.e. Sialkot- Jammu and Rawalpindi-Srinagar and they eventually did so however a small strip of land in a Muslim majority district Gurdaspur was awarded to India and as such a road link was given to India, this award was announced on 17th August 1947 and immediately it further fuelled the already explosive communal atmosphere ,trains of Muslim refugees were burnt ,looted, raped, killed and abducted in Sikh states adjoining the Pakistan in east Punjab especially the Patiala.[191]

Kashmir did not acceded to any of the dominion and signed a standstill pact with Pakistan to ensure that all services operate as per routine, all the economic related activities had to be generated through Pakistan that include postal, banking, insurance, fuel, food and spares for the machinery. It further strengthened the Pakistani perception of Kashmir's logical accession. Politically Kashmir was agitated, Sheikh Abdullah was imprisoned and his political party had boycotted the elections held in 1945-46. The Muslim Conference took part and had a majority in the legislative assembly of the state. From July onwards there was an unrest in the state which is quite predictable as the people of Kashmir especially the Muslims looked forward to joining the Pakistan, on the other hand it seems quite probable that maharajah was seriously thinking of maintaining its independence, he was convinced that his any form of survival at the power is best assured only in his being independent. Sir Harri Singh is not to be blamed for adopting this stance,from his perceptive nothing new has happened rather the only check on his total autocratic rule in the form of British Resident will not be seen any more, the paramountcy of Raj will be vanished and nothing more than that has occurred as far as Kashmir is concerned.

Delay in accession and grant of Muslim majority tehsils of Gurdaspur to India that allowed it to maintain a rail and road link with Kashmir were now propagated by the Pakistani press as a conspiracy against Muslims,[192] it is at this point in history that ever lasting suspicious and mistrust between Muslims and white Christians took birth and within days became a monster that thwarted any effort on part of British to interfere and restore the balance of power in sub continent.

The fanatic Muslim militant tribes of Hindu Kush poured into the Kashmir vale through the backing of the provincial government of frontier province ,the actions of these tribes was in line with their military and social culture, over 3000 tribes came to the help of the Kashmiris, the men of Poonch who were part of the British Forces in second world war were now demobilised and after years of military activity were now keen to take part in any action ,moreover a state of anarchy prevailed in Kashmir vale. Political and diplomatic efforts were launched by both the dominions to persuade Kashmir to join them, Pakistan took it as its right that Kashmir has no other option but to be a part of it for survival, India especially the idealistic Nehru was initially moved by the nostalgia of his home place{he was a Kashmiri Hindu pundit} and simultaneously the importance of Kashmir for the future prosperity of India became apparent, Mountbatten who was supposed to be the governor general of both dominions was publicly humiliated by Mr Jinnah who opted to be the governor general of Pakistan himself, fourth person was Sheikh Abdullah another idealist who wanted a rather free Kashmir and he had a popular base as well, Maharaja Sir Hari Singh the very man who held the

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[191] Discussions of The Kashmir Dispute in The Security Council *Security Council Official Records Third Year 6th January 1948-29th December 1949* {Lake Success,New York}p.43.

[192] Ibid,p,3. Indian delegate's speech on 6th January 1948

decisive card wanted his reign to be safeguarded was the fifth actor of this historical dramas, in his analysis he had a better chance with India.

On 21 October 1947 the tribesmen were twenty odd miles away from the capital Srinagar, the lone power house was destroyed ,the tribesmen were savage on the non Muslim population including the European women and children, less then hundred of them perished and British media highlighted this gory episode similar to the killing of British women under Bahadur Shah Zafar's custody in 1857. In nine weeks since independence the exodus of Muslims from east Punjab and with it the tales of violence had engulfed the Punjab and frontier province and it is logical that Kashmir could not remain neutral. It was the thousand year old religious animosity of Muslims against non Muslims and vice versa, the cultural difference between the plains and mountain that resulted in a chaos in the Kashmir state. Pakistan relied upon the tribesmen to capture the Srinagar and with that accession of the state, on 4th October 1947 a Republic of Kashmir[193] was proclaimed at Rawalpindi Hotel Paris and on 24th October it assumed the name of Azad Jammu Kashmir at Muzzaffarabad, on 26th October Maharaja signed his accession agreement with India which was accepted by the Mountbatten although Nehru, Vallbhai Patel{deputy premier of India} V.P. Menon senior government official, Mahajan the premier of Kashmir state were in communication with each other over the future of the State, Nehru did point out to the Mountbatten regarding the importance of Kashmir to India. On 1st November 1947 the governor generals of both dominions met at Lahore , Mr Jinnah still had a faith in the peaceful solution of Kashmir and so did Mountbatten, they both agreed to have a plebiscite in the state ,but Mountbatten insisted on the evacuation of tribesmen[194] from the vale and Mr Jinnah was at pain to explain to him that he has no control over these tribes which Mountbatten from the history knew was correct. Winter halted the war and matter was taken into the UNO. Most important event took place on 3rd t November 1947 at Gilgit where the 600 strong Gilgit Scouts along with their commandant Major Brown a British officer rebelled against the Kashmir government[195] and as the lease had expired after the transfer of power ,Gilgit and Laddakh including Skardu were now again part of the Kashmir. This is probably the only incident of any British officer in one hundred and fifty years in India to become a rebel against his own very own superiors, the military forces of both dominions was placed under Field Marshall Auckinleck and all commanders of Pakistan and Indian armed forces were British thus this act of Major Brown supports the hypothesis of British safeguarding their strategic interests in Central Asia, against communism through Pakistan as Major Brown soon announced the accession of Gilgit with Pakistan. Gilgit Scouts thus became the nucleus around which the Gilgitis, Baltis, Chilasi{ all Muslims} attacked Sikh garrison at Bunji and Skardu capturing Kargil there by cutting the lone Himalayan communication link between Kashmir and Laddakh. This war was independent of the resistance that was being waged all along the Kashmir's border with Pakistan

From 1920 onwards Indians were inducted in army with a King Commission and six Indians were initially selected including Sikander Mirza the future Pakistani president. The role of Punjab in World war 2 is highly commendable as no less than six Victoria Crosses were awarded to Punjabis and Pathans ,none was given to any Sindhi or Baluchi. During the Pakistan Movement era{The very resolution was passed at Lahore in 1940}the Punjab and Frontier provinces remained loyal to the British and Muslim League was only able to made governments at Bengal and Sindh.

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[193] Alastair, Lamb.*Incomplete Partition The Genesis of The Kashmir Conflict 1947-1948*{Services Book Club,1999}p,135.

[194] Discussions on Kashmir at Security Council ,p,89,17th January 1948.

[195] Alastair,Lamb, *Kashmir Disputed Legacy* ,p,161

Lord Mountbatten the last viceroy of India announced the plan on 3rd June 1947[196] and later in a press conference highlighted his plan of transfer of power which he advanced from June 1948 to August 1947, the independent states that included Kashmir and Jammu state had the option of either joining either dominion or remain independent, however the last option of any state was never seriously considered and all princely states were expected to join. There were no conditions on the ruler regarding his choice of accession ,it was presumed that logic would prevail upon all and these rajas will follow the rule of majority thus Muslim majority state of J&K to join Pakistan and Hindu majority states of Hyderabad and Junnagarh to join India in all the cases cited the rulers were from minority

On 27 June 1947, Lord Mountbatten circulated a memo for Quaid e Azam and Mr Liaqat Ali, highlighting the division of military assets, according to it in the first stage all the Muslims and non Muslims units were to be repatriated from Pakistan and India by September 1947, Artillery units were to be repatriated by November. An Armed forces Reinstitution Committee was formed to settle the issue of military hardware. The task of bifurcating RAF and aviation related equipment was assigned to the air force sub-committee headed by Air Vice Marshal Perry Keene Who later became RPAF first chief. Distribution was done meticulously for instance there was only one Air OP squadron in the Indian Sub-Continent i.e. 659 Air OP Squadron. It was decided to split this squadron. One flight consisting of four Auster V aircraft was Pakistan's share, remaining squadron was to form part of Indian Military. On independence Pakistan share of artillery regiments were eight Gun regiments, one survey battery and one Air OP Flight[197]. These eight regiments were grouped under three artillery groups.

Indian Act Of Independence 1947, was passed by the British Parliament on 18th July 1947, it had an impact on the Tochi Valley and Tochi Scouts because of clauses dealing with tribes & Durand Line issue , it states.

'*there lapse also any treaties or agreements in force at the date of the passing of this Act between His Majesty and any persons having authority in the tribal areas, any obligations of His Majesty existing at that date to any such persons or with respect to the tribal areas, and all powers, rights, authority or jurisdiction exercisable at that date by His Majesty in or in relation to the tribal areas by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance or otherwise'*[198].

In simple words all the obligations and treaties including the payment of allowances in North Waziristan ceased to exist, the treaty with Daur Tribes of 1895 also terminated, there was nothing clear regarding the status of Durand Line and this fog remains in air for some time. The International Law in Article 62 of the Vienna Convention, on the Law of Treaties states, *"It is accepted by all that whenever a new country or state is carved out of an existing colonial dominion; all the international agreements and undertakings that the previous ruler of the region had entered into would be transferred to the new independent national government*."[199]

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[196] *Partition Of Punjab Official Papers* ,pp 45-65.

[197] Major General Fazal Muqeem Khan *The Story of Pakistan Army*, {Oxford,1963},pp,20-35.also see Major General Shoukat Riza *The Pakistan Army 1947-1949*{Services Book Club,Rawalpindi,1989}.pp-128-201.also see Brian Cloughley *A History of Pakistan Army Wars & Insurrections 2nd edition*,{Army Education Publishing House Rawalpindi,2002}.pp,2-9.

[198] http://www.legislation.gov.ukIndian Independence Act 1947. Also see The Times, 4th July 1947.

199. Treaties". United Nations. Accessed on 26tth January 2011.http://www.un.org/law/ilc/texts/treaties.htm

Communal riots had already started in India from 1946 onwards but from March – April 1947 they erupted in Frontier Region, the most affected town was Tank, where Mahsuds & Bhittanis had a field day, city was put under curfew. Tochi Scouts saved Bannu City from the wrath of tribesmen. Tochi Scouts provided refuge to all Hindus, Tochi Scouts had a Hindu as canteen contractor and as transport contractor since inception.

The British officers present in Sub Continent were given a choice of either joining the Pakistan or the India[200] . Both dominions had a shortage of trained manpower and administrators to run the new dominions. The number of British officers who opted for service with Pakistan was far more than those who opted for India. There is a general theory that British favoured Hindus more than the Muslims, it is unfounded and not based upon the facts and reality. The hard fact is that British had much more cordial relations with Muslims than with Hindus; one key factor for this is the fact that both are believers of books. In North Waziristan and for that matter everywhere in India it were Muslims who were the martial race, the fighting men , men of status, people who readily gave their blood for their own honour, straight forward and simple, neat and clean.

First Kashmir War

Kashmir, in Sanskrit, implies land desiccated from water: "ka" (the water) and shimeera (to desiccate) Kashmir a land locked Himalayan kingdom comprising of 86000 square kilometres a that includes from the west where it borders with Afghanistan at an altitude of over 7000 feet ,where Hunza state a predominantly Shia Muslim of Agha Khan sect also marks the boundary with Chinese Sinkiang province and runs over the extreme wilderness ,a mass of mountains that include K-2 the second highest peak in the world and over the Broad Peak, Hidden Peak both over 8000 meters high, the world's largest glaciers out side polar region namely Siachen is also in the path of this imaginary line that also runs over the Aksai Chin plateau, Laddakh and moving further east it finally merges with the low land Himalayan mountain that veers off at Punjab ,its southern edges are the very edges of the mountain range that separates the agriculture based Punjab from the hilly Kashmir .that thus extends from this crescent edge that is the life line of both the Moen o Daro and Harappa civilisations that flourished on the very first western river the Mighty Indus ,on whose banks as it gushes down into Soan Civilisation, the very heart of the Buddhist empire of Asoka at Taxila close to Rawalpindi

In 1935 British India and Maharaja Harri Singh signed a lease under which Gilgit Agency {including Hunza} was taken on 60 years lease by the Raj, the Gilgit Scouts were already raised in 1915,consisting of local natives {six hundred in number} commanded by the British officers and mainly funded by the J&K state. The only two routes from India to China passes through Kashmir, the most easterly is the Jammu from Katoha in the Gurdaspur District, rail link goes from Sialkot to Jammu and from here the movement towards Srinagar is possible in fair weather due to intervening Banihal Pass, the most common route is from Rawalpindi along River Jhelum to Srinagar and then to Gilgit via Bunji and onwards to China

Kashmir had evolved its own distinct political system which was not much different from the other states of its size like Hyderabad Deccan yet due to its strategic location and ethnic distribution Kashmir state was unique in India, the first political party in Kashmir was formed in 1931 when a

200ShaukatRiza Major General the Pakistan Army 1947 – 1949, pp., 145 -175.

serious riots broke out in Kashmir[201] over a mosque issue the crisis ended with over thirty rioters being shot dead, the two main political parties were National Congress which was ideologically closed to Indian Congress it was led by Sheikh Abdullah who had a master's degree in chemistry from Aligarh College he became a focal point in Kashmir politics he remained in and out of Maharaja's prison on quite a regular basis, Sheikh was initially employed as a school headmaster but his marriage with a rich family made politics rather easy for him, sheikh had rather liberal views about the religion and communal issues in a sense he was a combination of both Jinnah and Nehru,he was the youngest of the three.

Muslim conference was the other major political party that became politically aligned with Jinnah's Muslim League .Kashmir political system in 1947 was autocratic in nature with a prime minister heading the cabinet, all powers remained in the hands of the Maharajah, State had its own well equipped army and civil service, the observation of the travellers and government officials was very poor about the human rights in the state[202] especially the plight of the Muslim population, but keeping in view the geography, history, economy of the state there seems to be little options available to the rulers. Kashmir had two general elections in which through a complicated system of voting and nomination an elected legislative assembly of Kashmir was in sitting.The logical perception of all the leaders especially the Muslims was absolutely correct to look forward in having state of Jammu and Kashmir as part of Pakistan.

The attitude of Mountbatten towards the Kashmir in those critical days is still under research, he was certainly conscious of the strategic value of Kashmir basing upon his 3rd June plan there is no reason not to believe that he {Mountbatten} must be convinced that Kashmir is going to Pakistan. For the demarcation of the area{Punjab and Bengal} a boundary commission was set up under Sir Cyril Radcliffe a prominent lawyer, his mandate was 'To demarcate the boundaries on the general principles of Muslim and non Muslim population and keeping other factors'.[203] [204]

Kashmir did not acceded to any of the dominion and signed a standstill pact with Pakistan to ensure that all services operate as per routine, all the economic related activities had to be generated through Pakistan that include postal, banking, insurance, fuel, food and spares for the machinery. It further strengthened the Pakistani perception of Kashmir's logical accession. Politically Kashmir was agitated, Sheikh Abdullah was imprisoned and his political party had boycotted the elections held in 1945-46. The Muslim Conference took part and had a majority in the legislative assembly of the state. From July onwards there was an unrest in the state which is quite predictable as the people of Kashmir especially the Muslims looked forward to joining the Pakistan, on the other hand it seems quite probable that maharajah was seriously thinking of maintaining its independence, he was convinced that his any form of survival at the power is best assured only in his being independent. Sir

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[201] Lamb ,Kashmir Disputed Legacy,p,89.

[202] Ibid,p,87

[203] http://www.legislation.gov.uk ***Indian Independence Act 1947 {accessed on 3rd November 2010} also see*** Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema *The Politics of the Punjab Boundary Award working Paper No 1, September 2000,{University of Heidelberg}*

[204] Discussions of The Kashmir Dispute in The Security Council *Security Council Official Records Third Year 6th January 1948-29th December 1949* {Lake Success,New York}p.43.

Harri Singh is not to be blamed for adopting this stance,from his perceptive nothing new has happened rather the only check on his total autocratic rule in the form of British Resident will not be seen any more, the paramountcy of Raj will be vanished and nothing more than that has occurred as far as Kashmir is concerned. Among all the states Kashmir was the only major state that had a strategic geographical location and importance; it borders with Sinkiang province of China and Eastern Turkmenistan both predominating Muslims..

. There were over 550 states in India and majority of them had sign the accession to the India and Pakistan. The independent states that included state of Kashmir and Jammu had the option of joining either dominion or remain independent; however the last option was never seriously considered. There were no conditions on the ruler regarding his choice of accession, it was presumed that logic would prevail upon all and these rajas will follow the rule of majority thus Muslim majority state of J&K to join Pakistan and Hindu majority states of Hyderabad and Junagarh to join India; in the end they all defied logic. For the demarcation of the area {Punjab and Bengal} a boundary commission was set up under Sir Cyril Radcliffe a prominent lawyer, his mandate was 'to demarcate the boundaries on the general principles of Muslim and non-Muslim population and keeping other factors'.[205]

Radcliffe Award was announced on 17th August 1947 a Muslim majority district Gurdaspur was awarded to India, immediately it further fuelled the already explosive communal atmosphere, trains of Muslim refugees were burnt, looted, raped, killed and abducted in Sikh states adjoining the Pakistan in East Punjab especially the Patiala[206]. The tribes of Waziristan rushed to the help of their brethren; they were helped by the Tochi Scouts in term of logistics.

Delay in accession and grant of Muslim majority tehsils of Gurdaspur to India that allowed it to maintain a rail and road link with Kashmir were now propagated by the Pakistani press as a conspiracy against Muslims,[207] it is at this point in history that ever lasting suspicious and mistrust between Muslims and white Christians took birth and within days became a monster that thwarted any effort on part of British to interfere and restore the balance of power in sub continent.

A public meeting was held in August 1947 at Nila Bat, a village near Dhirkot, to support the demand for accession of the state to Pakistan. The Maharaja sent his Hindu Dogra forces to quell the unrest. They opened fire on the gathering. On August 27, Sardar Abdul Qayuum Khan, a local zamindar or landowner (and later President of the "Azad Kashmir" government in Pakistani-controlled Kahmir), led an attack on a police-cum-military post in Dhirkot and captured it, leading the Maharaja to unleash the full force of his Dogra Hindu troops on the population. This effectively drew the lines in Poonch between the Hindu ruler and the Muslims population, all of whom were now seen as enemies. Villages were attacked and burned[208]

The men of Poonch who were part of the British Forces in second world war were now demobilised and after years of military activity were now keen to take part in any action ,moreover a state of anarchy prevailed in Kashmir vale. Political and diplomatic efforts were launched by both the dominions to persuade Kashmir to join them, Pakistan took it as its right that Kashmir has no other

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[205] http://www.legislation.gov.uk*Indian Independence Act 1947 {accessed on 3rd November 2010} also see* PervaizIqbalCheema*The Politics of the Punjab Boundary Award working Paper No 1, September 2000,{University of Heidelberg}*

[206] Discussions of the Kashmir Dispute in The Security Council *Security Council Official Records Third Year 6th January 1948-29th December 1949* {Lake Success, New York} p.43.

[207] Ibid,p,3. Indian delegate's speech on 6th January 1948

[208] Shuja Nawaz *First Kashmir War Revisited* India Review, Volume 7, No.2, April – June 2008, pp.115 – 154.

option but to be a part of it for survival, India especially the idealistic Nehru was initially moved by the nostalgia of his home place{he was a Kashmiri Hindu pundit} and simultaneously the importance of Kashmir for the future prosperity of India became apparent, Mountbatten who was supposed to be the governor general of both dominions was publicly humiliated by Mr Jinnah who opted to be the governor general of Pakistan himself, fourth person was Sheikh Abdullah another idealist who wanted a rather free Kashmir and he had a popular base as well, Maharaja Sir Hari Singh the very man who held the decisive card wanted his reign to be safeguarded was the fifth actor of this historical dramas, in his analysis he had a better chance with India.

Chain of Events

Two events simultaneously took place, the Kashmir and the withdrawal of army from Frontier 'Operation Curzon' and they both created chaos. From the tribesmen perspective both seems to be an extension of each other, from the state point of view both were separate. But this was the first time in modern period that tribesmen's strategic value for Pakistan was highlighted.

Pakistan relied upon the tribesmen to capture the Srinagar; on 4th October 1947 a Republic of Kashmir[209] was proclaimed at Rawalpindi's Hotel Paris. On 23rdt October 1947 the tribesmen were twenty odd miles away from the capital Srinagar, the lone power house was destroyed, the Wazir tribesmen were as savage on the non-Muslim population of Kashmir as they were on them in Tochi Valley, killing European women; they were nun[210]s. On 26th October Maharaja signed his accession agreement with India which was accepted conditionally by the Mountbatten. Indian Forces started pouring in the Valley[211].

Operation Curzon

Government of India had principally decided in February 1947 to withdraw all the regular forces from Waziristan[212], later Quaid I Azam as a sign of goodwill gesture towards the tribes also endorsed the same policy. Warning Orders for Operation Curzon were issued on 1st October 1947 and all regular army posts were vacated by the end of the year, which included Mir Ali, Razmak, Wana, Gardaí and Damdil. For the tribes this was a god send opportunity to carry out the loot. Withdrawal of the army was not an easy affair and it was performed with a professional incision. Tochi Scouts provided the road protection and acted as rear guard. Tochi Scouts also had to abandon the posts at Datta Khel, Khar Kamar, Tut Narai, Razmak and Boya; which were burnt and stripped by the tribesmen, taking away everything and anything that they could lay their hands on. Even today while travelling on road MiranShah to Datta Khel one comes across many old houses which have steel girders stolen from these posts. RPAF aircraft were used for evacuation of casualties and for guiding the army guns in a rear guard action.[213] Field Marshall Ayub Khan who remained President of Pakistan {1958-1969} was commanding a brigade at Gardaí and said *'that but for an odd attempt or two to 'booby trap' his men here and there by Ipi's hostile men the operation went off smoothly as*

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[209] Alastair, Lamb. *Incomplete Partition the Genesis of the Kashmir Conflict 1947-1948*{Services Book Club, 1999} p, 135.
[210] *The Times*, Saturday 25th October 1947.also see *The New York Times*, November 24th 1948.
[211] *The Times*, Tuesday, October 28th 1947.
[212] Douglas Marsh *Ramparts of Empire, India North Western Frontier 1919-1947* , unpublished Thesis, University of Austin, 2009, p- 263., also see Lieutenant Colonel H.E.M.Cotton, *Operation Curzon-Evacuation of Waziristan*, *Royal Engineers Journal*, *62*,{1948},pp.183-196. Also see Pakistan Army 1947-1949, p- 257.
[213] Azam, Cheema, Hamdani, *History of Pakistan Army Aviation 1947-2007*{Army Press, Islamabad, 2007} pp. 2-13.

planned.'[214]RPAF came to the rescue of army, two squadrons were in support, and No.5 Squadron flew 47 sorties, carrying out strafing over the tribesmen. Siddiqui further recalls"There was no clear cut job defined, we all were motivated to work, work and work to make this country survive, I would fly in my own squadron as well in Air OP. we would fly the Air force crew from Peshawar to Razmak, fly political agents, and any other task given, Before flying from Peshawar we inform the army units of our arrival and also get the weather, Auster had wireless to communicate."

Operation Curzon terminated on 31 December 1947, The flight supported the operation with dedication and devotion and flew 115 hours. On completion of the duty, the flight assembled at Peshawar, meanwhile the Indian intrusion in Kashmir started, at that time it would take 8-10 hours to drive from Rawalpindi to Kotli, 7 div was commanded by Maj-Gen Tottenham, he requested for Air operation sortie during an informal dinner, he was then provided with it ,it took 30 minutes to reach kotli in a fresh frame of minds.

Thus independence changed the things very little in the Tochi Valley and for Tochi Scouts the life went as it was before. 'No one who has ever read a page of Indian History will prophesy about the Frontier'. {Lord Curzon}

Kashmir War

Kashmir War was a convoluted affair, in which Pakistan Army was not taking part officially because of international law and the fact that all the services were being commanded by the British Officers and Kashmir issue was already put in Security Council on 3rd January 1948, however a covert operation was planned and put into action under the leadership of 'General Tariq' his Nome de plume, he was Colonel Akbar Khan[215] he was serving in Pakistan Army's General Headquarters Rawalpindi as director of weapons and equipment. He was approached by a young Kashmiri by the name of Sardar Ibrahim, who requested for rifles and ammunition. The number of rifles requested were only 500.

'time for peaceful negotiations was gone because every protest was being met with repressions and, therefore, in certain areas the people were virtually in a state of revolt . . . if they were to protect themselves and to prevent the Maharajah from handing them over to India, they needed weapons'[216]

General Messervy the commander-in- chief was in picture and held the similar view. General Tariq was a unit officer of Lieutennat Colonel Sadiqullah Khan who was commanding the Tochi Scouts at Tochi Valley and both met accidentally at General Headquarters Rawalpindi[217] . The end result was that Tochi Scouts were committed to the Kashmir Cause for the reason that they being a civil armed force did not came under the international law of intervention.

Colonel Akbar Khan also met Colonel Musa Khan{ later General} who was the grade one officer in Lahore Area which had the sphere of responsibility extending from Multan in the south to the Chenab in west. This meeting took place on 10th October 1947, resultantly Musa covertly sent

[214]Captain A.R. Siddiqui {correspondent of Civil & Military Gazette} quoting Brigadier Ayub Khan, article published on 5th February 2005, in Dawn Newspaper.
[215] Shuja Nawaz, *The First Kashmir War Revisted, India Review, Vol 7, No.2, April-June 2008*, pp.115-154.
[216] Ibid.
[217] *Guardian of Frontier*, p-163.

weapons. *' without the Area Commander's permission, I instructed Lieutenant Colonel Khalid Jan commandant of one of our infantry battalion to send four detachments to Rawalpindi, whence they would be taken to their destination. Ostensibly the crew were to proceed on leave to cover their absence from unit…the bren gunners reached Rawalpindi same night accompanied by battalion subedar – major '*[218]

The action plan thus focused on severing two major routes that linked Kashmir to India: first, the Kathua–Jammu route, an unmetalled road that passed through "broken territory" where guerrilla action could hold up any traffic till the rains and winter snows made it impassable. Second, the aim was to make Srinagar airport, the terminus for the likely air supply route from India, unavailable to Indian planes.[219]

Instrument of Accession

(Text of signed by Maharaja of the State of Jammu & Kashmir on 26th day of October 26, 1947, and its acceptance by Lord Mountbatten, the Governor General of India, onOctober 27, 1947) Whereas, the Indian Independence Act, 1947, provided that as from the fifteenth day of August 1947, there shall be set up an independent dominion known as INDIA, and that the Government of India Act, 1935, shall, with such omissions, additions, adaptations and modifications as the Governor-General may by order specify, be applicable to the dominion of India. And whereas the Government of India Act, 1935, as so adapted by the Governor-General provides that an Indian State may accede to the Dominion of India by an Instrument of Accession executed by the Ruler thereof. Now, therefore, I Shriman Indar Mahandar Rajrajeshwar Maharajadhiraj Shri Hari Singhji, Jammu Kashmir Naresh Tatha Tibbet adi Deshadhipathi, Ruler of Jammu and Kashmir State, in the exercise of my sovereignty in and over my said State do hereby execute this my Instrument of Accession and I hereby declare that I accede to the Dominion of India with the intent that the Governor-General of India, the Dominion Legislature, the Federal Court and any other Dominion authority established for the purposes of the Dominion shall, by virtue of this my Instrument of Accession but subject always to the terms thereof, and for the purposes only of the Dominion, exercise in relation to the State of J&K (hereinafter referred to as `this State') such functions as may be vested in them by or under the Government of India Act, 1935, as in force in the Dominion of India, on the 15th day of August 1947 (which Act as so in force in hereafter referred to as "the Act"). I hereby assume the obligation of ensuring that due effect is given to the provisions of the Act within this State so far as they are applicable therein by virtue of this my Instrument of Accession.I accept the matters specified in the Schedule hereto as the matters with respect to, which the Dominion Legislature may make laws for this State.I hereby declare that I accede to the Dominion of India on the assurance that if an agreement is made between the Governor-General and the Ruler of this State whereby any functions in relation to the administration in this State of any law of the Dominion Legislature shall be exercised by the Ruler of this State, then any such agreement shall be deemed to form part of this Instrument and shall be construed and have effect accordingly.The terms of this my Instrument of Accession shall not be varied by any amendment of the Act or of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, unless such amendment of the Act or of the Indian Independence Act 1947, unless such amendment is accepted by me by an Instrument supplementary to this Instrument.Nothing in this Instrument shall empower the Dominion Legislature to make any law for this State authorizing the compulsory acquisition of land

[218] Jawan to General, p – 79.
[219] First Kashmir War Revisited.

for any purpose, but I hereby undertake that should the Dominion for the purposes of a Dominion law which applies in this State deem it necessary to acquire any land, I will at their request acquire the land at their expense or if the land belongs to me transfer it to them on such terms as may be agreed, or, in default of agreement, determined by an arbitrator to be appointed by the Chief Justice of India.Nothing in this Instrument shall be deemed to commit me in any way to acceptance of any future constitution of India or to fetter my discretion to enter into arrangements with the Government of India under any such future constitution. Nothing in this Instrument affects the continuance of my sovereignty in and over this state, or, save as provided by or under this Instrument, the exercise of any powers,authority and rights now enjoyed by me as Ruler of this State or the validity of any law at present in force in this State.I hereby declare that I execute this Instrument on behalf of this State and that any reference in this Instrument to me or to the Ruler of the State is to be construed as including a reference to my heirs and successors.Given under my hand this 26th day of October, Nineteen Hundred and Forty Seven.

Acceptance of Instrument of Accession of Jammu and Kashmir State by the Governor General of India I do hereby accept this Instrument of Accession. Dated this Twenty-Seventh day of October Nineteen Hundred and Forty-Seven.(Sd). Lord Mountbatten Governor General of India

Gilgit Rebellion & Forward Policy

Introduction

British became a paramount power in India east of River Sutlej after defeating Marathas in 1805, in the same time period their commercial hold over India was threatened by the Napoleon and this led British East India Company{BEIC} to enter into diplomatic treaties with the formidable Sikh ruler of Punjab Maharajah Ranjit Singh who held sovereignty and paramountcy in the West of River Sutlej extending towards Persia and Afghanistan . By 1840 the threat of France mainly from west was replaced with the Russian expansion from the North West , the Sikhs were defeated in two successive battles fought between the BEIC troops and the Sikhs Misls in 1842-1846 resulting in the annexation of Punjab however the Afghanistan still remained an unpredictable neighbour for the British. BEIC had taken over the legal responsibility of Ranjeet Singh‟s empire which by itself was based upon the tacit mixture of diplomacy and militancy. Area West of River Indus from Peshawar down South Dera Ghazi Khan was divided into six Frontier Districts {FD} a separate force the Punjab Irregular Force{PIF} was also raised which was put under command of Punjab Government instead of a central command13 .These diplomatic ,commercial and military moves that took place in this effort to secure its Western and especially North Western approaches by the BEIC and later by the British Crown and parliament were termed as the **Great Game** by the one player Arthur Connoly in 1822[220] and later made famous by the Rudyard Kipling .

This Great Game started in 1820's with First two chukkers resulting in first {1839-1842} and second Afghan {1878-1880} wars and before the third chukker{1919,Third Anglo Afghan War} the British had moved extreme north in Hindu Kush some 300 miles north of Khyber Pass the most traditional route of invasion from Central Asia into plains of Indo-Gangetic civilisation to safeguard

[220] Peter Hopkirk, *The Great Game*[London;John Murray,2006],p.1.

the two more vital passes Baroghul and Ishkoman , as it was not economically viable to garrison the British troops next to the passes thus the historical communication hubs like Chitral for Baroghil pass route and Gilgit for the Ishkoman became strategic in nature. Gilgit was more strategic in importance because it connects to China,Afghanistan and Kashmir,it was the starting point of Himalayas .An ideal listening post for the Russian invasion and expansion. The Durand Line Treaty of 1893 defines the extent of British territory in the west with Afghanistan in which a mere 60 miles wide mountain strip Wakhan Corridor separates British India from Russian Khanates of Tajikistan,Wakhan is also 100 miles away from Gilgit there fore this town became a prize.

Gilgit a small mountainous town at an elevation of 4500 feet surrounded by lofty mountains including Nanga Parbat ,Haramosh , Rakaposhi{all above 7000 Meters}and over a hundred other mountains over 6000 Meters high is the opening to the fabulous Central Asia {or vice versa} with Baroghul, Mintaka and Ishkoman passes leading to Central Asia . Gilgit and surroundings including small states like Punial and Yasin were militarily annexed by the Dogras in 1860's after fierce but small wars and made part of Jammu & Kashmir{J&K} state , one of the over 500 princely states of India , J&K in size was bigger than Denmark, Holland and Belgium put together and as such was given special status by the Viceroy of India on behalf of Crown. Prime ministers Disraeli and Gladstone had varying policy on countering the Russian threat, one school of thought favoured a '**Forward Policy'** which promoted an aggressive posture having British military contingents stationed as far forward as possible there by making Afghanistan a dependency of British India, the other school of thought favoured an isolationist policy ,there by rejecting the very idea of any Russian invasion to India as not practical, they considered River Indus as an viable and economical defense line,in the end it was Forward Policy that emerged winner.

Britain thus engineered the western borders of Afghanistan and Russians also agreed on having a clear sphere of influence, a treaty was signed with Russia on the extent of spheres of both empires in 1873{ which later became the boundary between Afghanistan and Russia} on one hand and between India and Afghanistan the Durand Line in 1893 and with China in 1913.It is close to Gilgit that these four empires British India,China and Afghanistan meet with a strip of sixty miles of Afghanistan in Wakhan separating India and Russia.

Over period of time the objectives of forward policy remained identical the safeguarding of India's north western approach from Russia and preserving the sanctity of the Durand Line.

Gilgit Agency which represented the Gilgit town and adjoining half a dozen small states was established in 1889[221] British used military power to establish their garrisons and writ in these far flung remote mountainous terrain with a focus to keep the passes under control and for this purpose the Colonel Algernon Durand remained in Gilgit between 1892-1897. He in the process carried out considerable military expeditions to subjugate the independent small but strategically important states of Hunza and Nagar who in fact defined the western end or the starting point of the Durand Line .

Gilgit was leased by the British from ruler of J&K in 1935 for sixty years with an intent to keep this listening post of Central Asia under their direct control. Gilgit Scouts a militia of 500 men recruited exclusively from the native states , trained and commanded by the British officers, maintained jointly by the British and J&K state was meant to keep law and order in the agency and to act as the listening post for any invasion. This leasing of Gilgit Agency is a valid argument to support the usefulness of forward policy in post First World War scenario.

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[221] Alaistair Lamb,*Incomplete Partition Genesis of Kashmir Dispute,{*Oxford,Karachi,2002},p,105.

Post World War 2 resulted in Labour Party coming to power and discussions with the Indians started on the transfer of power to them. The India was divided on the practical aspects of transfer of power with Muslims who had been the loyal and in majority in Indian Military insisting on a separate country Pakistan and British hostile Indian Congress disagreeing with it and insisting on a unified India. On 1st June 1947 the partition plan was announced by the Viceroy Earl Mountbatten and later endorsed by the British parliament on 17th July 1947 under India Independence Act, it divided the India on communal basis and gave freedom of choice to the princely states to either join Pakistan ,India or remain independent. Communist threat to India from west after transfer of power must have been a high priority among the decision makers of the British policy .The lease of Gilgit Agency surprisingly was revoked and on 1st August 1947 Union Jack was replaced by J&K flag. However British did maintained other Agencies like Khyber ,Mohmand etc. This move of British just on the eve of transfer of power apparently seems to indicates an utter disengagement with the forward policy yet events leading to 1st November 1947 clearly dictates that this was not the case and certain British officers seems to be so much involved in the spirit of forward policy that they acted at their own for the continuance of the policy.

J&K was overwhelmingly Muslim yet ruled by the Hindu Dogra dynasty, not an unusual thing among the princely states yet because of its size, strategic location and natural resources especially the water it became a matter of life line for Pakistan. After transfer of power by the paramount power on 14t August 1947 two new dominions took birth Pakistan and India with Mountbatten becoming the Governor General of India and Mohammad Ali Jinnah of Pakistan. The hypothesis of a peaceful migration of population from one dominion to other was shattered by the communal brutality displayed by both Sikhs & Muslims which started in first week of March 1947 in Punjab and reached its crescendo in August 1947,the flashing point was the awarding of partial Gurdaspur District in eastern Punjab having a Muslim majority of 0.8 % to India instead of Pakistan[222]. The Radcliffe Boundary Award was headed by a British barrister and Pakistani historians do allege that this award has something to do with the fact that India's first premier Nehru belonged to Kashmir and he had an affair with the viceroy's wife Edina Mountbatton, ironically this district thus became India's sole link to Kashmir and Central Asia.

Almost all princely states had announced their accession to one dominion or the other yet J&K along with few other states including Hyderabad Deccan, Bahawalpur and Kalat remained independent, testing Pakistan's nerves and in first week of October 1947 the Muslim tribesmen of Durand Line attacked J&K state and almost reached the capital Srinagar when on 27th October 1947 Maharaja of Kashmir signed the letter of accession to India which was conditionally accepted by the Mountbatten. It is bit odd that Mountbatten did laid a condition ,that plebiscite has to be held in the state to ascertain the will of people. However the Indian army troops were airlifted from Delhi to Srinagar and they not only secured the Srinagar Airfield but also wrested the initiative from the tribal.

On 1st November 1947 the Gilgit Scouts an all Muslim armed unit which was raised ,trained and commanded by the British officers being paid by the Maharaja of J&K carried out a *coup d'état under a British officer Major Brown who put under arrest the Dogra governor Brigadier Ghansara Singh and sent the accession of Gilgit province of J&K state to Pakistan within hours. It was also a rebellion because these Gilgit Scouts or more precisely the only two British officers of Gilgit province attacked with Scouts on the 6th J&K Regiment at Bumji and defeated it, it was also a war of independence as independence was proclaimed by the Gilgit with its own president and field*

[222] Compiltaion of Official Documents,Volume 2,The Partition of Punjab 1947,National Documentation Centre 1983,second edition by Sang –e- Meel Publishers,Lahore,1993.Appendix IV,pp-552-553.

marshal. Gilgit Scouts a force of about 600 native soldiers commanded by a 24 years old British major of Scottish origin Major William Brown who in mysterious circumstances relinquished his King George's Commission and became a subject of maharajah of J&K on the advice of his superiors who all had opted to serve Pakistan after transfer of power. Major Brown along with his handpicked second in command Captain Mattheson also a Scottish carried out a coup d etat against the Dogra governor with the help of Gilgit Scouts on 1st November 1947 and immediately wired the letter of accession of Gilgit and more importantly of Hunza and Nagar strategic princely states.

In post 1947 the Gilgit Agency remained part of Pakistan where as the remaining part of Jammu & Kashmir state were governed by Pakistan and India as an after effect of the cease fire line of 1948.In 1954 Pakistan joined western military alliances and in 1960 gave bases to America. In 1965 both Pakistan and India again went to war over Kashmir ,six years later both these countries were again at war. ***However it was the military invasion of Afghanistan by the Russians in 1979 just thirty years after the Gilgit accession to Pakistan which highlights its strategic importance in all these years.***

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Fundamental of Pakistan's Military Strategy

In April 1948 new Pakistan Army Chief General Douglas Gracey committed Pakistan Army to the defence of the country and to put a stop to the Indian threat towards the Jhelum Bridges, by stopping the Indian advance not beyond Uri-Poonch-Naushehra line. His appreciation even today stands as the fundamental of Pakistan's military strategy

'If Pakistan is not to face another serious refugee problem…if India is not to be allowed to sit on the doorsteps of Pakistan to the rear and on the flank…if the civilian and military morale is not to be affected to an dangerous extent and if subversive political forces are not to be encouraged and let loose within Pakistan itself, it is imperative that the Indian Army is not allowed to advance beyond the general line Uri – Punch – Naushehra'[223]

Fakir of Ipi was the now thorn in the bouquet of Pakistan because of his interpretation of the independence, his attention was towards the political issue regarding the Durand Line. He now became a tool in the hands of the Afghanistan, which wanted to repudiate the Durand Line.

Forward Policy was another cause, the policies do not simply die down with transfer of power rather they are a living thing because they affects the lives of living humans, Russian fear was a reality and a genuine thing, cold war had started and British could not leave the area just like that. Pakistan from its inception or even before that was a pro-western country, in other words it was anti-communist. Quaid I Azam read the congratulatory message of the American President in the constituent assembly, the very first country to send its felicitations. Pakistan was part of an international conglomerate which was pro democratic and anti-communist. From Pakistan's perspective the country has not only inherited the treaties signed by the British but also the undeclared and unsigned Great Game; it became Pakistan's game now.

[223] Pakistan Army 1947-49, p – 275.

Operation Datta Khel

On 3rd t November 1947 at Gilgit where the 600 strong Gilgit Scouts along with their commandant Major Brown a British officer rebelled against the Kashmir government[224] and as the lease had expired after the transfer of power, Gilgit and Laddakh including Skardu were now again part of the Kashmir. This is probably the only incident of any British officer in one hundred and fifty years in India to become a rebel against his own very own superiors, the military forces of both dominions was placed under Field Marshall Auckinleck and all commanders of Pakistan and Indian armed forces were British thus this act of Major Brown supports the hypothesis of British safeguarding their strategic interests in Central Asia, against communism through Pakistan as Major Brown soon announced the accession of Gilgit with Pakistan. Gilgit Scouts thus became the nucleus around which the Gilgitis, Baltis, Chilasi {all Muslims} attacked Sikh garrison at Bunji and Skardu capturing Kargil there by cutting the lone Himalayan communication link between Kashmir and Laddakh. This war was independent of the resistance that was being waged all along the Kashmir's border with Pakistan

'Operation Datta Khel[225]'. Captain William Brown served in Tochi Scouts 1946-1947 in No .2 & No 1. Wing, he spent almost a month at Datta Khel. Brown was commissioned in a Frontier Force Regiment in 1941, transferred to SWS , served in Gilgit Scouts , came back to Tochi Scouts and then to Chitral Scouts and finally took the command of Gilgit Scouts after resigning his King's Commission. He planned the operation on the instigation of Lieutenant Colonel Bacon who remained as political Agent in NWA and was the Inspecting Officer of Frontier Corps in 1947, the Governor of NWFP George Cunningham also served as the political agent at NWA and the very first political agent at Gilgit after the accession to Pakistan was Mr.Aslam who was assistant political agent at NWA in 1940.

Baltistan

Pakistan government sent Sardar Muhammad Alam and Major Muhammad Aslam as political agent and military commanders respectively. By the end of November 1947 Major Muhammad Aslam under the nume de plume of Colonel Pasha organized the available forces into four wings and decided to continue fight for freedom of Baltistan despite approaching winters. Colonel Pasha identified two axis along which enemy could send reinforcements- one was along Bandipura through Tragbal pass, Minimerg and Gilgit whereas the other was along Zoji La, Kargil, Hamzigund and Skardu. The main task, however, was to free Skardu from the Dogra forces. Basing on this identification colonel Pasha organized his four wings into two forces i.e Tiger Force and Ibex Force.

Tiger Force. It was commanded by Captain (later Lieutenant Colonel) Hassan Khan. Its task was to capture Tragbal pass and check enemy reinforcement towards Gilgit. The force left Bunji on 3 March 1948 and by mid of March it was able to capture Tragbal Pass. In May 1948 enemy launched an attack with two Brigades. The Tiger Force defended their position relentlessly but ill equipped and ill fed 300 troops could not hold on for long and had to withdraw from the Pass on 16 May 1948. They, however, took up positions about 20 miles behind where they stayed on till cease fire.

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[224] Alastair,Lamb, *Kashmir Disputed Legacy* ,p,161

[225] Major William Brown, *the Gilgit Rebellion*, {Ibex, Rawalpindi, 1998] p- 117. Also Victoria Schofield Kashmir *in Conflict; India, Pakistan & the unending War* {London, Taurus, 2010} p-63.

Ibex Force. This force was commanded by Major Ehsan Ali of Hunza. Its task was to free Baltistan and advance right upto Kargil, Daras and Zoji La Pass to stop enemy reinforcement along Indus Valley. It left Bunji along Indus River on 29 January 1948. After clearing enemy resistance at Rondu the force encamped at Sondus in the foot of Kharpocha forte. Muslim elements in the Dogra force had silently joined Major Ihsan Ali and it was decided to attack Skardu on night 22-23 February 1948. Everything went as planned but unfortunately the sentry who had to fire green signal fired red one by mistake and hence chance for a surprise attack was lost. Fierce fight ensued but Major Ihsan Ali had to withdraw to reorganize and regroup.

Enemy started reinforcing Skardu and a brigade size force was approaching from Indus Valley side. This force was successfully ambushed at Thorgo Pari and huge quantity of weapon, ammunition and ration was captured. Siege of Skardu continued till August 1948 since enemy had been supplying the garrison by air. On 14 August 1948, exactly one year after Pakistan's Independence, Skardu was surrendered by Dogra forces.

Eskimo Force. After unsuccessful attack on Skardu in February 1948, Colonel Pasha organized another force at Chilam Chauki under Lieutenant Colonel Shah Khan. The force was named Eskimo force. It had to capture Kargil, Dras and Zoji la Passe which was initially the task of Ibex force. This force successfully captured Kargil and completed the siege of Dras when they were joined by Ibex Force. These two forces combined played havoc with enemy and were able to capture Kargil, Dras, Zoji la Pass and had invested Leh as well. At this point in time, General Headquarters replaced Colonel Pasha with Colonel Jilani who decided to strengthen his positions at Kargil, Dras and Zojila and abandoned the idea to attack Leh. The major considerations for this were lack of recourses and over dispersion of forces. On 1 January 1949 when ceasefire was ordered, Pakistan forces were holding a line roughly Karrgil, Dras and Zoji la Pass.

Peace proposals 1948

The role of UNO in solving Kashmir issue is very interesting in nature as it was the very first challenge which arose after UNO raising, in a historical perspective the taking of Kashmir issue in UNO speaks of civilisation and mind set of the Dravidian culture, Nehru in his ideals of his 'tryst with destiny'[226] was conscious of history whereas Jinnah was more practical in approach. This also reflects the military culture of the Dravidians which lacked the will to strike first.

The issue was raised in January 1948 and world community took keen interest in its solution working on Saturday morning and evening, Sir Zafarullah Khan initially tried to delay the proceedings mainly to gain time for the tribesmen to consolidate their position , he gave a historical colour to his narrative spread over two days, he insisted on the solution of Kashmir on the basis of the this aspect whereas the Indian stance was legal in nature where they stressed on the legality of accession and admitted on the fact that state has an overwhelming Muslim majority yet countered by again referring to the legal aspects . After hearing point of view of both dominions the unanimous and immediate decision was {Security Council **Resolution 38** of 17 January 1948} *'to take immediately all measures within their power (including public appeals to their people) calculated to improve the situation and to refrain*

[226] http://www.youtube.co.nehru's speech on 14th August 1947.{accessed on 23 November 2010}

from making any statements and from doing or causing to be done or permitting any acts which might aggravate the situation'.[227]1

The debate in Security Council also {Security Council **Resolution 39** of 20 January 1948} established the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) with General McNaughton of Canada as chairman.

On 21 April 1948 the Security Council adopted its **Resolution 47**. This recommended that the Pakistani Government use its'Best endeavours to secure the withdrawal from the State of Jammu and Kashmir of tribesmen and Pakistani nationals not normally resident therein who have entered the State for the purposes of fighting and to prevent any intrusion into the State of such elements and any furnishing of material aid to those fighting in the State'.[228]

After arrangements for the cessation of the fighting have become effective{Indian Government} 'put into operation in consultation with the Commission a plan for withdrawing their own forces from Jammu and Kashmir and reducing them progressively to the minimum strength required for the support of civil power in the maintenance of law and order'.[229]

Security Council Resolution 47

Having considered the complaint of the Government of India concerning the dispute over the State of Jammu and Kashmir, having heard the representative of India in support of that complaint and the reply and counter complaints of the representative of Pakistan,*Being strongly* of opinion that the early restoration of peace and order in Jammu and Kashmir is essential and that India and Pakistan should do their utmost to bring about cessation of all fighting,*Noting* with satisfaction that both India and Pakistan desire that the question of the accession

of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan should be decided through the democratic

method of a free and impartial plebiscite,*Considering* that the continuation of the dispute is likely to endanger international peace and security, *Reaffirms* its resolution 38 (1948) of 17 January 1948;

Resolves that the membership of the Commission established by its resolution 39 (1948) of 20 January 1948, shall be increased to five and shall include, in addition to the membership mentioned in that Resolution, representatives of .... and.... and that if the membership of the Commission has not been completed within ten days from the date of the adoption of this resolution the President of the Council may designate such other Member or Members of the United Nations as are required to complete the membership of five; *Instructs* the Commission to proceed at once to the Indian subcontinent and there place its good offices and mediation at the disposal of the Governments of India and Pakistan with a view to facilitating the taking of the necessary measures, both with respect to the restoration of peace and order and to the holding of a plebiscite by the two Governments, acting in cooperation with one another and with the Commission, and further instructs the Commission to keep the Council informed of the action taken under the resolution; and, to this end, *Recommends* to the Governments of India

[227] Security Council Papers, p 119,17th January 1948.
[228] Ibid, 19th April 1948.
[229] Ibid.

and Pakistan the following measures as those which in the opinion of the Council and appropriate to bring about a cessation of the fighting and to create proper conditions for a free and impartial plebiscite to decide whether the State of Jammu and Kashmir is to accede to India or Pakistan.

A-RESTORATION OF PEACE AND ORDER

1.The Government of Pakistan should undertake to use its best endeavours:

(a)To secure the withdrawal from the State of Jammu and Kashmir of tribesmen and

Pakistani nationals not normally resident therein who have entered the State for the purposes of fighting, and to prevent any intrusion into the State of such elements and any furnishing of material aid to those fighting in the State;

(b)To make known to all concerned that the measures indicated in this and the following paragraphs provide full freedom to all subjects of the State, regardless of creed, caste, or party, to express their views and to vote on the question of the accession of the State, and that therefore they should co-operate in the maintenance of peace and order.

2.The Government of India should:

(a)When it is established to the satisfaction of the Comnlission set up in accordance with the Councit's Resolution 39 (1948) that the tribesmen are withdrawing and that arrangements for the cessation of the fighting have become effective, put into operation in consultation with the Commission a plan for withdrawing their own forces from Jammu and Kashmir and reducing them progressively to the minimum strength required for the support of the civil power in the maintenance of law and order;

(b)Make known that the withdrawal is taking place in stages and announce the completion of each stage;

(c)When the Indian forces shall have been reduced to the minimum strength mentioned in(a) above, arrange in consultation with the Commission for the stationing of the remaining forces to be carried out in accordance with the following principles:

(i)That the presence of troops should not afford any intimidation or appearance of

intimidation to the inhabitants of the State;

(ii)That as small a number as possible should be retained in forward areas;

(iii)that any reserve of troops which may be included in the total strength should be

located within their present base area.

3.The Government of India should agree that until such time as the plebiscite administration referred to below finds it necessary to exercise the powers of direction and supervision over the State forces and policy provided for in paragraph 8, they will be held in areas to be agreed upon with the Plebiscite Administrator.

4.After the plan referred to in paragraph 2 (a) above has been put into operation, personnel recruited locally in each district should so far as possible be utilized for the re-establishment and maintenance of law and order with due regard to protection of minorities, subject to such additional requirements as may be specified by the Plebiscite Administration referred to in paragraph 7.

5. If these local forces should be found to be inadequate, the Commission, subject to the agreement of both the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan, should arrange for the use of such forces of either Dominion as it deems effective for the purpose of pacification.

B-PLEBISCITE

6.The Government of India should undertake to ensure that the Government of the State invite the major political groups to designate responsible representatives to share equitably and fully in the conduct of the administration at the ministerial level, while the plebiscite is being prepared and carried out.

7.The Government of India should undertake that there will be established in Jammu and Kashmir a Plebiscite Administration to hold a Plebiscite as soon as possible on the question of the accession of the State to India or Pakistan.

8.The Government of India should undertake that there will be delegated by the State to the Plebiscite Administration such powers as the latter considers necessary for holding a fair and impartial plebiscite including, for that purpose only, the direction and supervision of the State forces and police.

9.The Government of India should at the request of the Plebiscite Administration, make available from the Indian forces such assistance as the Plebiscite Administration may require for the performance of its functions.

10.(a) The Government of India should agree that a nominee of the Secretary-General of the United Nations will be appointed to be the Plebiscite Administrator.

(b)The Plebiscite Administrator, acting as an officer of the State of Jammu and Kashmir,should have authority to nominate the assistants and other subordinates and to draft regulations governing the Plebiscite. Sqch nominees should be formally appointed and such draft regulations should be formally promulgated by the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

(c)The Government of India should undertake that the Government of Jammu and Kashmir will appoint fully qualified persons nominated by the Plebiscite Administrator to act as special magistrates within the State judicial system to hear cases which in the opinion of the Plebiscite Administrator have a serious bearing on the preparation and the conduct of a free and impartial plebiscite.

(d)The terms of service of the Administrator should form the subject of a separate negotiation between the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Government of India. The Administrator should fix the terms of service for his assistants and subordinates.

(e)The Administrator should have the right to communicate directly, with the Government of the State and with the Commission of the Security Council and, through the Commission,with the Security Council, with the Governments of India and Pakistan and with their representatives with the Commission. It would be his duty to bring to the notice of any or all of the foregoing (as he in his discretion may decide) any circumstances arising which may tend, in his opinion, to interfere with the freedom ofthe Plebiscite.

11.The Government of India should undertake to prevent and to give full support to the Administrator and his staff in preventing any threat, coercion or intimidation, bribery or other undue influence on the voters in the plebiscite, and the Government of India should publicly announce and should cause the Government of the State to announce this

undertaking as an international obligation binding on all public authorities and officials in Jammu and Kashmir.

12.The Government of India should themselves and through the Government ofthe State declare and make known ' that all subjects of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, regardless of creed, caste or party, will be safe and free in expressing their views and in voting on the question of the accession of the State and that there will be freedom of the Press, speech and assembly and freedom of travel in the State, including freedom of lawful entry and exit.

13.The Government of India should use and should ensure that the Government of the State also use their best endeavour to effect the withdrawal from the State of all Indian nationals other than those who are normally resident therein or who on or since I Sth August 1947 have entered it for a lawful purpose.

14.The Government of India should ensure that the Government of the State releases all political prisoners and take all possible steps so that :

(a)all citizens of the State who have left it on account of disturbances are invited and are free to return to their homes and to exercise their rights as stch titizens,

(b)there is no victimization;

(c)minorities in all parts of the State are accorded adequate protection.

15.The Commission of the Security Council shouid at the end of the plebiscite certify to the Council whether the plebiscite has or has not been really free and impartial.

C-GENERAL PROVISIONS

16.The Governments of India and Pakistan should each be invited to nominate a representative to be attached to the Commission for such assistance as it may require in the performance of its task.

17.The Commission should establish in Jammu and Kashmir such observers as it may require of any of the proceedings in pursuance of the measures indicated in the foregoing paragraphs.

18.The Security Council Commission should carry out the tasks assigned to it herein

The very first result of these efforts was the cease fire accepted by the both dominions at Karachi which came into force on 1st January 1949, the resolutions of UNO now became subject to strategic paradigms of each opponent, as now India was portrayed as enemy by Pakistani press. The resolutions called for the evacuation of all Muslim militants from all of Kashmir state and that included Gilgit, Baltistan and Poonch areas almost 1/3 of Kashmir state, it was not culturally possible for the Pakistan to accept this clause seldom in history has ever any conqueror given back his possessions , in modern politics the leaders of Pakistan Jinnah and after him from September 1948 onwards Liaqat Ali khan were shrewd enough to balance the advantages of having a sizeable territory under their control

13 August 1948

Resolution adopted by the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan**,** , S/1100, para 75, 9 November, 1948.

THE UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION FOR INDIA AND PAKISTAN Having given careful consideration to the points of view expressed by the Representatives of India and Pakistan regarding the situation in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, and Being of the opinion that the prompt cessation of hostilities and the correction of conditions the continuance of which is likely to endanger international peace and security are essential to implementation of its endeavours to assist the Governments of India and Pakistan in effecting a final settlement of the situation,Resolves to submit simultaneously to the Governments of India and Pakistan the following proposal:

PART I

CEASE-FIRE ORDER

A.The Governments of India and Pakistan agree that their respective High ' Commands will issue separately and simultaneously a cease-rire order to apply to all forces under their control in the State of Jammu and Kashmir as of the earliest practicable date or dates to be mutually agreed upon within four days after these proposals have been accepted by both Governments.

B.The High Commands of Indian and Pakistan forces agree to refrain from taking any measures that might augment the military potential of the forces under their control in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. (For the purpose of these proposals "forces under their control" shall be considered to include all forces, organised and unorganised, righting or participating in hostilities on their respective sides).

C.TheCommanders-in-Chief of the Forces of India and Pakistan shall promptly confer regarding any necessary local changes in present dispositions which may facilitate the ceasefire.

D.In its discretion. and as thecommission may rind practicable, the Commission will appoint military observers who under the authority of the Commission and with the co-operation of both Commands will supervise the observance of the cease-fire order.

E.The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan agree to appeal to their respective peoples to assist in creating.and to maintaining an atmosphere favourable to the promotion of further negotiations.

PART II

TRUCE AGREEMENT

Simultaneously with the acceptance of the proposal for the immediate cessation of hostilities as outlined in Part 1. both Governments accept the following principles as a basis for the formulation of a truce agreement, the details of which shall be worked out in discussion between their Representatives and the Commission.

A. (1)As the presence of troops of Pakistan in the territory of the State of Jammu and Kashmir constitutes a material change in the situation since it was represented by the Government of Pakistan before the Security Council, the Government of Pakistan agrees to withdraw its troops from that State.

(2)The Government of Pakistan will use its best endeavour to secure the withdrawal from the State of Jarnmu and Kashmir of tribesmen and Pakistan nationals not normally resident therein who have entered the State for the purpose of fighting.

(3)Pending a final solution the territory evacuated by the Pakistan troops will be administered by the local authorities under the surveillance of the Commission.

B.(1)When the Commission shall have notified the Government of India that the tribesmen and Pakistan nationals referred to in Part 11 A 2 hereof have withdrawn, thereby tenninating the situation which was represented by the Government of India to the Security Council as having occasioned the presence of Indian forces in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, and further. that the Pakistan forces are being withdrawn from the State of Jammu and Kashmir. the Government of India agrees to begin to withdraw the bulk of their forces from the State in stages to be agreed upon with the Commission.

(2)Pending the acceptance of the conditions for a final settlement of the situation in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, the Indian Government will maintain within the lines existing at the moment of cease-fire the minimum strength of its forces which in agreement with the Commission are considered necessary to assist local authorities in the observance of law and order. The Commission will have observers stationed where it deems necessary.

(3)The Government of India will undertake to ensure that the Government of the State of Jammu and Kashmir will take all measures within their power to make it publicly known that peace, law and order will be safeguarded and that all human and political rights will be guaranteed.

C. (1)Upon signature, the full text of the Truce Agreement or communique containing the principles thereof as agreed upon between the two Governments and the Commission, will be made public.

PART III

The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan reaffirm their wish that the future status of the State of Jammu and Kashmir shall be determined in accordance with the will.of the people and to that end, upon acceptance of the Truce Agreement both Governments agree to enter into consultations with the Commission to determine fair and equitable conditions hereby such free expression will be assured.

Kashmir was a matter of prestige for the infant nation, the power corridor that starts from Kabul-Peshawar-Lahore-Delhi of Delhi Sultanate was still active the races were the same ,nothing has changed it seems in this thousand years, the Punjab which remained a jewel in the crown of the Raj could not be isolated from Srinagar, Lahore had more right over it then Delhi. On other hand Nehru gave a pledge to the world of a plebiscite in Kashmir.[230]

Karachi Agreement, Azad Kashmir

Text of the agreement signed between Pakistan and Azad Kashmir Governments in **April 1949**. The Agreement was signed by the following:

[230] Ibid 6th January 1948.

1. Honourable Mushtaque Ahmed Gurmani, Minister without Portfolio, Government of Pakistan.2. Sardar Mohammed Ibrahim Khan, the president of Azad Kashmir.3. Choudhry Ghulam Abbas, Head of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference.

A. Matters within the purview of the Government of Pakistan.

1. Defence (as modified under....).

2. Foreign policy of Azad Kashmir.

3. Negotiations with the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan.

4. Publicity in foreign countries and in Pakistan.

5. Co - ordination and arrangement of relief and rehabilitation of refugees.

6. Co - ordination of publicity in connection with plebiscite.

7. All activities within Pakistan regarding Kashmir such as procurement of food, civil supplies running of refugee camps and medical aid.

8. All affairs of Gilgit - Ladakh under the control of Political Agent.

B. Matters within the purview of Azad Kashmir Government.

1. Policy with regard to administration of AK territory.

2. General supervision of administration in AK territory.

3. Publicity with regard to the activities of the Azad Kashmir Government and

administration.

4. Advice to the honourable Minister without Portfolio with regard to negotiations with United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan.

5. Development of economic resources of AK territory.

C. Matters within the purview of the Muslim Conference.

1. Publicity with regard to plebiscite in the AK territory.

2. Field work and publicity in the Indian occupied area of the State.

3. Organisation of political activities in the AK territory and the Indian occupied area of the State.

4. Preliminary arrangements in connection with the plebiscite.

5. Organisation for contesting the plebiscite.

6. Political work and publicity among the Kashmiri refugees in Pakistan.

7. Advise the honourable minister without Portfolio with regard to the negotiations with the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan.

5th January 1949

Resolution adopted by the United Nations Commission For India and Pakistan, 5January 1949, S/1196, para 15, 10 January 1949.

THE UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION FOR INDIA AND PAKISTAN,Having received from the Governments of India and Pakistan in Communications, dated December 23 and December 25, 1948, respectively their acceptance of the following principles which are supplementary to the Commission's Resolution of August 13, 1948,

1 .The question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan will be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite;

2. A plebiscite will be held when it shall be found by the Commission that the cease-fire and truce arrangements set forth in Parts I and 11 of the Commission's resolution of 13 August 1948, have been carried out and arrangements for the plebiscite have been completed,

3.(a) The Secretary-General of the United Nations will, in agreement with the Commission, nominate a Plebiscite Administrator who shall be a personality of high international standing and commanding general confidence. He will be formally appointed to office by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir.

(b)The Plebiscite Administrator shall derive from the State of Jammu and Kashmir the powers he considers necessary for organizing and conducting the plebiscite and for ensuring the freedom and impartiality of the plebiscite.

(c)The Plebiscite Administrator shall have authority to appoint such staffor assistants and observers as he may require.

4.(a) After implementation of Parts I and 11 of the Commission's resolution of 13 August 1948, and when the Commission is satisfied that peaceful conditions have been restored in the State. the Commission and the Plebiscite Administrator will determine, in consultation with the Government of India, the final disposal of Indian and State armed forces, such disposal to be with due regard to the security of the State and the freedom of the plebiscite.

(b)As regards the territory referred to in A 2 of Part 11 of the resolution of 13 August, final disposal of the armed forces in that territory will be determined by the Commission and the Plebiscite Administrator in consultation with the local authorities.

5.All civil and military authorities within the State and the principal political elements of the State will be required to cooperate with the Plebiscite Administrator in the preparation for and the holding of the plebiscite.

6.(a) All citizens of the State who have left it on account of the disturbances will be invited and be free to return and to exercise all their rights as such citizens. For the purpose of facilitating repatriation there shall be appointed two Commissions, one composed of nominees of India and the other of nominees of Pakistan.The Commissions shall operate under the direction of the Plebiscite

Administrator. The Governments of India and Pakistan and all authorities within the State of Jammu and Kashmir will collaborate with the Plebiscite Administrator in putting this provision to eftect.

(b)All persons (other than citizens of the State) who on or since IS August 1947, have entered it for other than lawful purpose, shall be required to leave the State.

7.All authorities within the State of Jammu and Kashmir will undertake to ensure in collaboration with the Plebiscite Administrator that:

(a)There is no threat, coercion or intimidation, bribery or other undue influence on the voters in plebiscite;

(b)No restrictions are placed on legitimate political activity throughout the State. All subjects of the State.regardless of creed, caste or party, shall be safe and free in expressing their views and in voting on the question of the accession of the State to India or Pakistan. There shall be freedom of the Press, speech and assembly and freedom of travel in the State, including freedom of lawful entry and exit;

(c)All political prisoners are released;

(d)Minorities in all parts of the State are accorded adequate protection; and

(e)There is no victimization.

8.The Plebiscite Administrator may refer to the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan problems on which he may require assistance, and the Commission may in its discretion call upon the Plebiscite Administrator to carry out on its behalf any of the responsibilities with which it has been entrusted;

9.At the conclusion of the plebiscite, the Plebiscite Administrator shall report the result thereof to the Commission and to the Government of Jammu and Kashmir. The Commission shall then certify to the Security Council whether the Plebiscite has or has not been free and impartial;

10.Upon the signature of the truce agreement the details of the foregoing proposals will be elaborated in the consultation envisaged in Part 111 of the Commission's resolution of 13 August 1948. The Plebiscite Administrator will be fully associated in these consultations; Commends the Governments of India and Pakistan for their prompt action in ordering a cease-fire to take effect from one minute before midnight of first January 1949, pursuant to the agreement arrived at as provided for by the Commission's resolution of 13 August 1948; and Resolves to return in the immediate future to the sub-continent to discharge the responsibilities imposed upon it by the resolution of 13 August 1948, and by the foregoing principles.

The efforts of UNO in this ripe period centred on Dixon Owen the Australian representative in UNO who headed the task of mediating and find a solution of Kashmir. Mr Dixon floated the idea of taking and treating Kashmir state like a miniature India and dividing its components Baltistan {Gilgit} to Pakistan along with Poonch whereas Jammu and Laddakh to India and that finally leaves Kashmir where Dixon recommended a plebiscite[231]. His proposal was not agreed upon by both whereas Nehru showed bit of interest in it. Dixon finally gave up and admitted his inability to reach any compromise. UNO continued with the efforts but in a different manner.

[231] Alastair Lamb, *Kashmir Legacy* ,p,171-173

UNO continued with the efforts but in a different manner. Leaders of Pakistan Mr Bogra almost reached a solution before he was sacked. One key factor of the delay in the peaceful end to the saga was arrested by the rapid collapses of civil government in Pakistan which by 1954 had become a constitutional Pandora box unable to settle down culturally and socially. The linguistic riots in Dacca had highlighted the inherent cultural variation within the Pakistan social fabric where as in India ,Nehru remained in power. Pakistan joined the military pact that was designed against communism, thus the importance of NAs became paramount. Nehru remained adhered to his ideas of socialism and non alignment.

Peace Proposals 1948-2010

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'to take immediately all measures within their power (including public appeals to their people) calculated to improve the situation and to refrain from making any statements and from doing or causing to be done or permitting any acts which might aggravate the situation'.[233]1

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It was certainly not in the western interest that India and Pakistan should fight and same was the policy of General Ayub Khan the military president who first offered a joint defence pact with India which Nehru rejected on obvious reasons. Pakistan from 1948 when India had stopped the water for the crops realised its vulnerability ,Ayub by temper was inclined towards agriculture as is obvious from his diaries,he had no desire to capture Kashmir by force rather his vision is obvious from the Indus Water Treaty of 1960 over the distribution of water of Kashmir where by India gave up three western rivers Indus, Jhelum and Chenab and bought the other two Ravi and Sutlej ,World Bank became a guarantor.[238] Same year Pakistan gave military bases to USA.

Water treaty practically sealed the dispute as the main dispute by this stage at UNO was dead, however for Pakistan the option of either following an idealistic policy basing upon plebiscite was now almost over as it was highly doubdtfull whether Kashmiris would join a democratic India or a

[235] Ibid.
[236] Ibid 6th January 1948.
[237] Alastair Lamb, *Kashmir Legacy* ,p,171-173
[238] Indus water Treaty 1960,Article V financial provisions.

military ruled Pakistan. Relations between Pakistan and India were at all times high in 60s' and story might have ended there but for Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto.

Zulfi as he is popularly known graduate of Oxford and Berkley was destined to change the history of both countries in many aspects. As a young minister he became the mouth piece of the military regime of Pakistan ,he considered himself as an expert in international affairs ,he laid the foundation stone of Sino Pakistan strategic partnership by agreeing to the Chinese suggestions concerning their claim on the territory close to Hunza state, Indians had already gone to war over the same issue in 1962,Chinese forcibly took the disputed territory of Aksai Chin. Thus entered the third key player of Kashmir dispute ' China' .Bhutto was a romantic and a very strong vocal spokesman of Pakistan at UNO, he categorically and vehemently denied Indian claim over Kashmir, Bhutto spoke refuting by shaking his head on the Indian position

'Kashmir is not an integral part of India it is a disputed territory, Kashmir was never a part of India…historically ,religiously and culturally Kashmir is a part of Pakistan in part,in blood, in flesh'.[239]

He later became a hawk in Pakistan urging his government to seek the solution of Kashmir through use of violence, Bhutto as foreign minister prevailed upon the President Field Marshal Ayub Khan and Pakistan supported Kashmiris with arms and money to carry out guerrilla activities inside Indian held Kashmir, Bhutto hoped and planned that an uprising will then erupt out in the vale ,it was an approach which had been successfully carried out by Lawrence of Arabia, Che Guerra and Mao Tse Tung. It did not occurred as envisioned rather the response of the people was luke warm, now this can be interrupted as a plebiscite in real politics. Pakistan Army was inches away from the objective of cutting the road link with Kashmir in IHK when 'fog of war'[240] prevented them and in retaliation Indians launched an all out war which lasted for over twenty days with little change in status quo in Kashmir. This hostilities were later negotiated at **Tashkent** on the invitation of Soviet leadership, there by it finally brought the Russians to sub continent, politically Ayub had to face a downfall over the Bhutto's allegations that he had compromised the Kashmir issue and have lost the victory on table.

'The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that all armed personnel of the two countries shall be withdrawn not later than 24 February, 1966, to the positions they held prior to 5 August, 1965, and both sides all observe the cease-fire terms on the cease-fire line'.[241]

From this point onward Kashmir became a favourite and safe bet in Pakistani politics . 1971 debacle and surrender hit the pride of Pakistan and its army, the loss of East Pakistan shook the thousand years old martial superiority of the pathan-punjabi over the non Aryans. Bhutto had to go to Simla to negotiate peace talks ,Pakistan had a very sizeable{over 50,000 troops} as prisoner of war . As the fighting had taken place in winters therefore there was no major activity on Kashmir front,although Pakistan's strategy revolved around capturing Kashmir for any loss in East Pakistan.

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[239] http://www.youtube.co.Bhuuto speech at UNO in 1966 {accessed on 5th November 2010}

[240] Muhammad, Azam, & Aamir,Cheema History of Pakistan Army Aviation 1947-2007{Army Press,Islamabad,2010}pp,165-200.

[241] Tashkent Agreement.

Simla Agreement is not much different from the Tashkent Declaration in context, it accepted the ceasefire line as the status quo without compromise on the basic attitude of both countries about the dispute, it however bind both the countries to solve their issues on bilateral level or a forum both agreed

'That the two countries are resolved to settle their differences by peaceful

means through bilateral negotiations or by any other peaceful means mutually

agreed upon between them. Pending the final settlement of any of the problems

between the two countries, neither side shall unilaterally alter the situation and

both shall prevent the organization, assistance of encouragement of any acts

detrimental to the maintenance of peaceful and harmonious relations'.[242]

Apparently it seems that Bhutto finally gave up the idea of liberating Kashmir with the use of force, the once invincibility myth that was web around the armed forces was also shredded ,in defence army put the blames of defeat in east on the politicians especially on Bhutto. For Bhutto as a political sustainability the requirement of Kashmir became paramount. It was on this issue that he came to power.India's nuclear explosion in 1974 at the time sealed the fate of Kashmir for ever as the hypothesis of Pakistan political, military and cultural intelligentsia rested on the military solution.

Afghan war and hanging of Bhutto by the military put the Kashmir case on a status quo. The small platoon level adventure trekking of Indian Army in Siachen opened a new crevice in Kashmir affairs

Siachen Glacier the largest glacier outside polar region is located in extreme north of Pakistan the same very point NJ 9842 which was discussed in Karachi in 1949 agreement. It was decided that area due north of this point would be the boundary. [243]Since then till do date armies of booth countries are engaged in Siachen Glacier area fighting in extreme cold snow and blizzards for small advantages in tactical fields which in fact is reaching to the top of a mountain before the other. For General Zia it became a political embarrassment to be accused of losing even an inch of country's land thus in this cultural taboos Zia took a tough stance on the issue . Kashmir again became a battle field but this time the place was far away from any civilisation, civil population remained unaffected in the issue, the conflict became a symbol of pride , state controlled media highlighted minor adjustments of both sides.

Afghan War and Siachen conflict remained parallel in timeline ,where as afghan war was being fought by the Mujhadeens with the support of the Pakistan Army and USA the conflict in Siachen was among the armed forces. It also bring forward another aspect of the cultural variation of Afghans and Kashmiris ;similar approach was adopted by the Bhutto in 1965 as was being employed by the Zia in Afghan,however the response of Afghans was markedly different from Kashmiris.

Tashkent Declaration

[242] Simla Agreement,1972.
[243] Azam and Cheema,*History of Pakistan Army Aviation,Islamabad,Army Press*,2008, pp 348-378

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan, having met at Tashkent and having discussed the existing relations between India and Pakistan, hereby declare their firm resolve to restore normal and peaceful relations between their countries and to promote understanding and friendly relations between their peoples. They consider the attainment of these objectives of vital importance for the welfare of the 600 million people of India and Pakistan.

I

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan agree that both sides will exert all efforts to create good neighborly relations between India and Pakistan in accordance with the United Nations Charter. They reaffirm their obligation under the Charter not to have recourse to force and to settle their disputes through peaceful means. They considered that the interests of peace in their region and particularly in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent and, indeed, the interests of the people so India and Pakistan were not served by the continuance of tension between the two countries. It was against this background that Jammu and Kashmir was discussed, and each of the sides set forth its respective position.

II

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that all armed personnel of the two countries shall be withdrawn not later than 24 February, 1966, to the positions they held prior to 5 August, 1965, and both sides all observe the cease-fire terms on the cease-fire line.

III

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that relations

between India and Pakistan shall be based on the principle of non-interference in the

internal affairs of each other.

IV

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that both sides will discourage any propaganda directed against the other country, and will encourage propaganda which promotes the development of friendly relations between the two countries.

V

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that the High Commissioner of India to Pakistan and the High Commissioner of Pakistan to India will return to their posts and that the normal functioning of diplomatic missions of both countries will be restored. Both Government shall observe the Vienna Convention of 1961 on Diplomatic Intercourse.

VI

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed to consider measures towards the restoration of economic and trade relations, communications, as well as cultural exchanges between India and Pakistan, and to take measures to implement the existing agreements between India and Pakistan.

VII

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that they will give instructions to their respective authorities to carry out the repatriation of the prisoners of war.

VIII

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that the two sides will continue the discussion of questions relating to the problems of refugees and eviction/illegal immigrations. They also agreed that both sides will create conditions which will prevent the exodus of people. They further agreed to discuss the return of the property and assets taken over by either side in connection with the conflict.

IX

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that the two sides will continue meetings both at the highest and at other levels on matters of direct concern to both countries. Both sides have recognized the need to set up joint Indian-Pakistani bodies which will report to their Governments in order to decide what further steps should be taken. The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan recorded their feelings of deep appreciation and gratitude to the leaders of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government and personally to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. for their constructive, friendly and noble part in bringing about the present meeting which has resulted in mutually satisfactory results. They also express to the Government and friendly people of Uzbekistan their sincere thankfulness for their overwhelming reception and generous hospitality. They invite the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. to witness this declaration.

10 January 1966

Simla Agreement

Simla Agreement was signed on 2nd July 1972 at 1240 Hours; India was to vacate over 10,000 square kilometres of Pakistan territory while Pakistan would continue occupying the 600 square kilometres of Indian Territory in Kashmir. Pakistan did not have to pay for any war damages also. The Cease Fire Line of 1948 was replaced with Line of Control.[244]

Agreement

1. The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan are resolved that the two countries put an end to the conflict and confrontation that have hitherto marred their relations and work for the promotion of a friendly and harmonious relationship and the establishment of durable peace in the subcontinent, so that both countries may henceforth devote their resources and energies to the pressing task of advancing the welfare of their peoples. In order to achieve this objective, the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan have agreed as follows:

(i) That the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations shall govern the relations between the two countries;

[244] Simla Agreement,1972.

(ii) That the two countries are resolved to settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations or by any other peaceful means mutually agreed upon between them. Pending the final settlement of any of the problems between the two countries, neither side shall unilaterally alter the situation and both shall prevent the organization, assistance of encouragement of any acts detrimental to the maintenance of peaceful and harmonious relations;

(iii) That the prerequisite for reconciliation, good neighborliness and durable peace between them is a commitment by both the countries to peaceful coexistence, respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit;

(iv) That the basic issues and causes of conflict which have bedeviled the relations between the two countries for the last 25 years shall be resolved by peaceful means;

(v) That there shall always respect each other's national unity, territorial integrity, political independence and sovereign equality;

(vi) That in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations they will refrain from the threat of use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of each other.

2. Both Governments will take steps within their power to prevent hostile propaganda directed against each other. Both countries will encourage the dissemination of such information as would promote the development of friendly relations between them.

3. In order progressively to restore and normalize relations between the two countries step by step, it was agreed that:

(i) Steps shall be taken to resume communications, postal, telegraphic, sea, land including border posts, and air links including overflights.

(ii) Appropriate steps shall be taken to promote travel facilities for the nationals of the other country.

(iii) Trade and cooperation in economic and other agreed fields will be resumed as far as possible.

(iv) Exchange in the fields of science and culture will be promoted. In this connection delegations from the two countries will meet from time to time to work out the necessary details.

4. In order to initiate the process of establishment of durable peace, both the Governments agree that:

(i) Indian and Pakistani forces shall be withdrawn to their side of the international border.

(ii) In Jammu and Kashmir, the line of control resulting from the cease-fire of December 17, 1971 shall be respected by both sides without prejudice to the recognized position of either side. Neither side shall seek to alter it unilaterally,irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations. Both sides further undertake to refrain from the threat or the use of force in violation of this Line.

(iii) The withdrawals shall commence upon entry into force of this Agreement and shall be completed within a period of 30 days thereof.

5. This Agreement will be subject to ratification by both countries in accordance with their respective constitutional procedures and will come into force with effect from the date on which the Instruments of ratification are exchanged.

6. Both Governments agree that their respective Heads will meet again at a mutually convenient time in the future and that, in the meanwhile, the representatives of the two sides will meet to discuss further the modalities and arrangements for the establishment of durable peace and normalization af relations, including the questions of repatriation of prisoners of war and civilian interests, a final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir and the resumption of diplomatic relations.

(**Indira Gandhi**)

Prime Minister

Republic of India

(**Zulfikar Ali Bhutto**)

President

Islamic Republic of Pakistan

Simla, the 2nd July, 1972[245]

India conducted three nuclear explosions and days later Pakistan conducted five,June 1998 thus became a very hot month in sub continent. Pakistani generals were quick to put into use this security umbrella of nuclear warheads, they can now plan and execute the plans that have been discussed and debated in many uncountable war games, the previous fear of operating under the threat of Indian nukes was now over, again the Aryan culture came at par with Dravidian. Indian generals should have tried to capture or capitulate AJK when they had the nuclear hegemony.

In **February 1999** Nawaz sheriff premier of Pakistan himself a Kashmiri by origin and having one of the biggest ever mandate of public in history of Pakistan and Atal Behari Vajpayi premier of India met at Lahore and agreed that their respective Governments:

‘· shall intensify their efforts to resolve all issues, including the issue of Jammu

and Kashmir.

· shall refrain from intervention and interference in each other's internal affairs.

· shall intensify their composite and integrated dialogue process for an early and

positive outcome of the agreed bilateral agenda’.[246]

Pakistan Army under General Musharaff was actively planning the campaign to capture the strategic importance Kargil town in IHK. There is nothing wrong with the this approach if one looks through the historical prism ,a classic Kautaliyan approach, a touch of Bismarck in planning, it was an accidental war, Pakistan army units lost Siachen because they vacated their posts in winter and now same was bein practiced by the Indians in Kargil sector which is much lower in altitude, so like Indians the Pakistan backed Kashmiri militants occupied their vacant heights. this brought two countries to the brink of a war but credit goes to Indians for acting in a mature manner by restricting

[245] Paul Bowers, Parliamentry papers of Britain, paper on Kashmir 04/28, 30th March 2004.
[246] Ibid,

the conflict to Kashmir itself and even in that only Kargil sector was focussed. It was a god given opportunity for Indians to knock out the Kashmiris militant camps within Pakistan, their 'sanctuaries of war'.[247] This high tension drama between two recently crowned nuclear powers with a millennium of hatred and mistrust finally were poised once again to the battle field without fully understanding the complications of nuclear holocaust especially it is more true for Pakistan as its military culture by this time became more aggressive.

It was re-enactment of First Kashmir War,now the militants like their predecessors tribesmen were raiding the Kashmir and hitting at the Indian military where they can and killing and burning the hindoos the way Muslims were burnt and killed in 1947.

'Through the summer of 2000 the violence intensified between militants and the Indian security forces. Over 930 people died in the first six months of the year, including 36 Sikhmen in the village of Chithi Singh Pora, who were rounded up and shot by militants after being separated from the women of the village' .[248]

Musharraf was a commando officer and portrayed himself as a Atta Turk,he adopted a typical playing for the gallery attitude both in politics and in his dealing with India ,in his first ever visit to India at Agra he was more concerned about what to wear there and finally resulting in a revival of sherwani as a dress, at Agra Musharraf was more happy in having a photo shoot with his wife with historic Taj Mahal in back ground than to discuss Kashmir. The militancy in Kashmir was fully supported by army managed and run by the much feared Inter Services Intelligence Agency {ISI}. All this changed drastically in September 2001 with 9/11 event, Pakistan was the number one on the list of Americans in an all out effort to catch the culprits and to finish the Islamic Militancy for good. Pakistan acted realistically and co-operated with USA,it is not clear that were the attacks on Indian was still trying to grapple with the situation when Indian parliament was attacked by the militants Following a suicide bomb attack on 1 October 2001 on the provincial legislature of Indian-administered Kashmir, which killed 38 people, Mr Vajpayee wrote to President Bush that

'Pakistan must understand that there is a limit to the patience of the people of India'.[249]

Pakistan took a major and most appropriate U turn in its policy ,Musharraf was now more mature and took steps which apparently looked out of tune and on the behest of the Americans by the public which for two decades was brought up and groomed in a culture of superiority ,where Islam had to be spread through the violence ,under Zia and later propagated by General Hamid Gul the former ISI chief .The two nations went to a heightened military tension and later it was step down in an orderly manner by the mediation of the USA, but not before extreme violence devastated Kashmir with over 700 killed in state elections 'during the night of 23-24 March 2003 a group of some eight to 10 men dressed in army uniforms entered the village of Nadimarg, south of Srinagar, and took members of the Hindu Pandit community from their homes. They lined up and shot dead 24 of them, including 11 women and two children, outside a temple'.[250]

Musharraf finally gave up the militancy and by 2003 he went on to put forward a radical change in Kashmir policy by hinting at dropping of plebiscite condition and emphasising on

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[247] Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema ,*Sanctuary And War*,{Quaid –i-Azam University 1978}foreward.
[248] *Parliament Papers*,p 20
[249] Ibid,p,21.
[250] Ibid,p,23.

autonomy of the region and free movement of people ,on 6th January 2004 he met Indian premier at Islamabad and thus marked the end of Kashmir dispute temporarily.

'*Prime Minister Vajpayee said that in order to take forward and sustain the dialogue process, violence, hostility and terrorism must be prevented. President Musharraf reassured Prime Minister Vajpayee that he will not permit any territory under Pakistan's control to be used to support terrorism in any manner'.*[251]

Musharraf adopted a realistic approach towards the current issues of Pakistan ,he had the same advantage as all military dictators had in past he culturally represented the powerful head of military above all the world was more than willing to provide the assistance which was not possible in the cold war era blocks .The devastating earthquake in Kashmir in 2005 changed the scenario of Kashmir,the support of world was unprecedented in the region.it also brought forward the realities of war because in many cases the aid to the affected was delayed due to security concern of both countries.

Conclusion

There has been not much of change on the Indian political scenario, Manmohan Singh is heading the Congress, in Pakistan, army is still in power but in a democratic manner, it is now occupied on the Durand Line, its hold on the society has been loosened by its regular and sporadic fatalities which it is incurring daily ,the whole of society has been frightened by the constant terror that has been taking place in military cantonments and places of worship. The main reason being forwarded by the general perspective in the military and fed to civil culture still held India responsible for all the mischievous.

To answer the query regarding finding a solution for Kashmir ,I tend to follow the Dixon dictum that there is no solution to the Kashmir issue because it is something that has become an ego point for a common Muslim without understanding the complexities of why it is important for Pakistan to have Kashmir. Pakistan has tried everything ,its military culture took birth in Kashmir affairs. Kashmir is a disputed country only in the eye of one party that is Pakistan ,India does not consider it that way. Kashmir has gone through a complete cycle of life, it has been tried in security council and it has been tested in battle fields, in the end both countries have something to be politically contended.

There are varied school of thoughts in Pakistan,one beliefs in the power of Islam and their aim is Kashmir it provides them a cause to live and feel contended, these jihadis prospered during Zia era but after the 9/11 and Musharaff's Kashmir proposal the hold of these groups and blocks within the army and ISI have been reduced, the thoughts of army at presently is not focused on the Kashmir as it is burdened with the Waziristan but Kashmir is part of military culture and as such whenever army is going to get away from western borders it will fall back to Kashmir.

President Obama's recent visit to India followed by Chinese premier have changed the decade old balance of power that was feared and practiced in sub continent. India has progressed in the area and Pakistan which reflects the Aryan culture and Islamic culture feels a bit down especially

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its international image, lagging economy, and ethnic violence coupled with religious animosity fuelled by the Iranian and Saudi sects of Islam.

Baltistan and Gilgit have been inducted in Pakistani constitutional set up and as such one aspect of Dixon's proposal has been fulfilled the other of Jammu and Laddakh being part of India has also been accommodated, that leaves only the Kashmir Vale and Poonch jagir. Since the 2000 almost all the Hindu population of Kashmir Vale has left the valley and as such not more than few Hindus are left. It is similar to the tactics adopted by the Nazis against the Jews in Germany under Hitler. Muslim militants have compelled the Hindus to leave the vale.

Pakistan and its people as such have no moral issue with the Kashmir now,they have attained through powerful diplomacy and military almost one third of territory and all important passes that allows communication and trade with the Central Asia are under its control where as on transfer of power they had not a single inch ,its similar to Israel's expansion. Regarding the physical elements that governs a state and about which people have little knowledge and in many cases they are not interested in these details but demands end result only. Pakistan's agricultural back bone is based upon these rivers and water from the Kashmir, it has been settled in 1960 water treaty, which is a good and a balance treaty so are the Simla and Lahore declaration,particularly the Simla as it accepted the cease fire line {CFL} as Line of control{LOC}, without any prejudice to the point of debate of opponents,it still retains the option of changing the line through the use of force and this is what Pakistan did in Kargil. Now the UNO resolutions have become obsolete as they never took into consideration the Chinese factor. The prerequisite of a plebiscite will never be fulfilled as all three countries have almost made part of their share in Kashmir as integral part of their sovereignty .

The issues of jihadi parties is another ball and game, no one can state with authority that they are under complete control of Pakistan ,its political parties, army or ISI yet these are powerful outfits which can act at their own and can cause a holocaust, the attack on Taj Mahal at Bombay in 2008 in which 175 people died[252] has been a constant reminder that a nuclear conflict in area is a distant reality. The recent act of desecration of Koran in America had a severe negative impact in the valley

'It has been a dreadful week in Kashmir, the bloodiest yet in two decades of uprisings against Indian rule. The violence began with demonstrations against reports that Korans had been or would be desecrated by a small group of Christians in the United States…on September 13th 2010 protesters set fire to a Christian missionary school and 18 people were killed, most of them by police bullets... Angry youths across the region gathered to hurl rocks and chant "Azadi!" (freedom!). Four more demonstrators were killed on September 15th.'[253]

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252 **<http://www.economistonline.org.uk/>Sharm offensive Jul 16th 2009** *From The Economist print edition* **[accessed 22nd November 2010]**

253 **<http://www.economistonline.org.uk/>***India's intifadaThe Kashmir valley goes from bad to worse Sep 16th 2010 | DELHI | From The Economist print edition* **[accessed 22nd November 2010]**

It seems that nothing at present can solve the issue, the previous options of either acceding to India or Pakistan in totality is not feasible any more because political fall out at least in Pakistan will be too severe, The Chinese are an active players in the region and as such cannot be made to sit on the side line ,the recent trip of Chinese premier to India has been described as failure because border issues remain to be settled.[254]

The viable step at the moment is to maintain the status quo, respect the cease fire line and adhere to Simla and Lahore accord which primarily insist on non interference in each others territory. The real issue are the locals which are not in control of the Pakistan as perceived ,the two decades old disturbances has badly affected the mental state of the Kashmiri youth and they at their own can carry out the unrest. Pakistan is not concerned with the issue of plebiscite the real thorny issue is can Pakistan afford to have an autonomous Kashmir and will it include the Baltistan and Gilgit area as well, which is now part of Pakistan.

Thus one should wait for the historical accident to occur which will galvanised the whole process as all other options have been exhausted, most likely any political step in this direction will be taken in 2013 when general elections will be held in Pakistan and Pakistan should concentrate now in preserving its territory, at present Kashmir is divided with India having 46% of area, China having 19% and Pakistan holding 35%.[255]

Kashmir is a miniature Afghanistan for Pakistan, the strategy which was effectively played in Afghanistan against Soviet Union in which natives were provided with war sanctuaries have also worked in Kashmir but the present wave of anti terror in the world will not tolerate any militant activities in Kashmir and neither will the Chinese as they also have sizeable Muslim population in Sinkiang province,thus it leaves the Status quo as the most viable option .

Analysis of British Military in Malayan Emergency

Malay peninsula is roughly the size of England less Wales ,located in south east Asia, ,it is a jungle mountainous area, the maximum elevation of mountains is 7000 feet and they bisects the country into north-south direction, jungles covers four fifth of Malay's 50,850 [256] square miles of area, the population of Malay in 1953 census was 5.2 million [257] people in which Indians constituted 11%,Chinese 39% and rest were the native Malay race, these Chinese and Indians mainly came to Malay because of rubber and tin trade that flourished since British took colonial control of Malay in

[254] <http://www. times of bombay.org quoting The Los Angeles Times 'Wen's failed trip to Bharatth 20,' {December 2010,{accessed on 20th December 2010

[255] Moeed Yousaf and Adil Najam *Kashmir Identifying the Components of a Sustainable Solutions*{Research Paper at QAU,2004},p,2-3.

[256] Noel Barber, *War of Running Dogs, How Malay Defeated The Communist Guerrillas 1948-1960* {London, Fontana 1972}p 11

[257] Geoffrey Fairbairn, *Revoloutionary Guerrilla Warfare* {Suffolk,Penguin,1974}p 160

1895 [258] . In 1925 the communist party of Malay was formed and it was this very party that became the sole resistance against Japanese invading army that over ran Malay and Singapore in 1943.These communist guerrillas were contacted by Major John Davis of British Army in 1943 [259] and weapons, ammunition were para dropped into jungle, few British officers and men also joined these communists to give them training in weapon and explosives, this force came to be known as 'Force 136' [260]

The post war period in Malay became very politically agitated over future of Malay, communists who were dominating the trade unions almost paralysed the economy through strikes, the British were mainly the owners of large rubber plantation farms that were scattered all over the country, Chinese were the workers and squatters of these farms, Indians were into business. On 16th June 1948,three British planters were shot dead by Chinese communists [261] ,British high commissioner imposed emergency in certain parts and on 18th June 1948 emergency was imposed all over Malay and it officially lasted till 30th July 1960 [262],although in between Malay it self got independence on 31st August 1957.

This emergency, insurgency and guerrilla warfare is a matter of interest from various angles, the first and foremost was that it was not allowed to spread the way Vietnam and Algeria got out of hand, and is regarded as the only victory of west over communism thus British handling of this emergency against communist became a kind of standard yard stick on which all other are judged especially the way French and American got bogged down in Indo-China in same time period and almost same is happening now in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Aim

To highlight and analyse the British military performance in countering Malay Communist insurgency.

British military power at the start of emergency consisted of three British battalions ,one Gurkha brigade {seven battalions}, local police with a strength of ten thousand, the RAF based in Singapore had over eleven fighting and bomber squadrons , apart from three squadrons of Dakota transport squadrons ,then there were few ships of Royal Navy as well, however by end December 1948 a British brigade{2nd Guards}was sent as reinforcement and strength rose to peak of 23 battalions in 1953 having over six British, Six Gurkhas, seven Malay, One Fijian, One East African, and One Australian battalion, supported by two armoured car regiments, two field engineer regiments, one Rhodesian parachute squadron and one commando brigade [263]. Airpower was also supplemented with over thirty medium range bombers and over thirty helicopters including Australian Air force

[258] Robert Jackson, *The Malayan Emergency and Indonesian Confrontation,The Commonwealth's Wars 1948-19666* {Yorkshire,Pen and Sword,2008} p 5

[259] Margaret Shennan, *Our Man in Malay* {Glouchestershire,Media Group,2007} p 60

[260] Ibid p 75

[261] Jhon Nagl, *Learning To Eat Soup With a Knife Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malay and Vietnam* {London,Chicago University Press,2002} p 63

[262] Ibid p 103

[263] Robert Jackson, *The Malayan Emergency* {Yorkshire,Pen and Sword,2008} p 19

apart from occasional support of Royal Navy aircraft carriers [264]. Apart from these regular troops a peak of 3,00,000 home guards were also raised .

Communists total strength remained at 12000 men but never peaked above 7500 [265] men and women spread over the whole Malay peninsula in the form of war time organisation of battalions ,there was one battalion in each state, the command was in the hand of Ching Pen, they were under armed having limited ammunition and few guns, most of their equipment was the one which they had hidden in the jungles, which was given by the Force 136,they had no radio equipment at all. Yen Muan was the civil wing of Communist Party of Malay, Ching Peng planned to start the insurgency in September 1948 but it accidently started in June 1948 [266].

British military was well experienced in jungle warfare as they had been fighting in Burma for well over four years, the numerical and firepower difference was too much ,virtually David had no chance against Goliath, logically British should have been able to wipe out the communist in first go but it did not happened and that explains the real nature of insurgency.

First Phase June 1948 - April 1950.

The General Officer Commanding Malay Major General Boucher was confident of wiping out the insurgent or bandits in three months, the tactics were to have wide jungle sweeps of company and battalion size troop strength, supported by aircraft. He stated on 27th July 1948 'my object is to break their concentration and to drive them underground in jungles and then to ferret them out' [267]. As a first step a Ferret Force of British volunteers of ex Force 136 along with British and Gurkha troops with local guide ventured into jungles to hunt the terrorist. Similarly RAF carried out extensive air offensive. A jungle warfare training school was also set up and in 1950 a special air service force under Colonel Calvert was formed [268] , On the other hand the communists were carrying out constant hit and run casualties on security forces. In Buang Mua they attacked with a strength of over two hundred guerrillas and took the town and remained in control for over five days, incidentally it was their only liberated area in whole emergency which lasted only for five days, in another incident they attacked a police station with a strength of over two hundred but failed to achieve any success. Apparently there was nothing wrong with the tactics of British military as it was after the terrorist in full swing in one incident they killed 27 terrorist, yet the incidents of violence kept on rising averaging fifty a week, over 149 security personnel's were killed with another 211 wounded and 315 civilian killed, terrorist lost 374 killed and 263 captured in 1948 [269] . Terrorist had the advantage of

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[264] Ibid p 65

[265] Ibid p 14

[266] Peng,Chin, *My Side Of History* {Singapore,Media Masters,2003}p 215

[267]

Jhon Nagl, *Learning To Eat Soup With a Knife* {London,Chicago University Press,2002}p 67

[268] David Charters and Maurice Tugwell *Armies in Low-Intensity Conflict A Comparative Analysis* {London,Brassey's,1989} p 209

[269]

Robert Jackson, *The Malayan Emergency* {Yorkshire,Pen and Sword,2008} p 31

choosing time and location of their own choice, thus creating terror in the hearts of all, conducting ambushes and raids on the military and then disappearing into jungle and then again laying ambushes for the military, they were certainly hoping for the public to rise and if that happens then the whole scenario would have changed, its not that the military or political administration was not aware of this danger but in built inertia of both did not allowed them to move, all three services had their own culture and were operating quasi independent of each other that partially was the reason of their failure in first phase.

On 2nd July 1948 the existing high commissioner Sir Edward Gent died in an air crash while landing at London on his way from Kuala Luampur, Sir Henry Gurney was appointed as new high commissioner and he assumed office on 6th October 1948,the delay of almost three month was a major blunder. The year 1949 saw a surge in violence with communists attacking in force of 200-300 at places of their choice ,they 'attacked Kuala Krau on 11th September 1949 and burnt the railway station' [270] and put town on fire, again 'on 4th October 1949 some 200 terrorist attacked isolated rubber farm' [271]. The tally at the year end was 619 terrorist killed against 229 security forces and 334 civilians killed .Clearly the David was in making and military despite taking all the right tactical steps was unable to stop this spread of terror, it was not that the communists were better trained or armed, it was surprise which they were achieving. The intensity of air offensive can be gauged from the fact that in 1949 in last two months over '62 strikes involving 388 sorties were flown' [272], in 1948 over thirty million leaflets were dropped as part of psychological war fare, the head hunters of Sarawak and Borneo were also inducted in campaign against the communists. The flaw was in the mental state of armed forces, the over all in charge of emergency forces was the police commissioner. The victory of communists in China raised the morale of the Malay communists and emergency was heading for insurgency.

Second Phase April 1950- February 1952 'Briggs Plan'

At this stage Lieutenant General retired Briggs agreed on request of Field Marshall Slim to serve in Malay for eighteen months, he was appointed as Director of Operations, this was the first attempt to have a co-ordinated command and control of security forces. His plan was to drain the water in which fish was swimming, it envisioned to clear the peninsula step by step from south to north, deny the terrorist their sanctuary of Chinese squatters, isolating the terrorists from food and finally destroying them.

Thus by end 1950 out of '3,00,000 Chinese squatters over 117,000 were moved into 140 new villages and in 1951, 429 new villages were established having 3,85,000 inhabitants'[273]. The communist leader Ching Peng admits in 2003 that 'Briggs Plan hit us in a hard way,it forced us to move deep into jungles and also changed our tactics' [274] ,thus from attacking in large groups communists shifted to small platoon size force. On political front Gurney introduced mandatory

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[270] Ibid p 31
[271] Ibid 32
[272] Ibid p 68
[273]

Robert Jackson, *The Malayan Emergency* {Yorkshire,Pen and Sword,2008}p 20

[274] Chin Peng, *My Side Of History* {Singapore,Media Masters,2003}p 263

identification card for all citizens thus giving citizenship to Chinese and Indians and eliminating Yen Muan. By end 1950, '648 terrorist were killed 147 captured and another 147 surrendering, security forces lost 393 with another 496 wounded and civilian casualties were 646 dead and 409 wounded' [275]. However in 1951 the effects of Brigg Plan started showing with decrease of incidents .

On 25th October 1951,the assassination of high commissioner Gurney by the communists put Malay back into lime light with British press and public screaming for accountability and the effects on morale of Malay public was in favour of communists now. Sir Henry Lyttelton the new colonial secretary of conservative government visited Malay and stayed for a month and then gave his six points programme whose most important aspect was to have a unified command of both military and political forces.

The man was Lieutenant General Gerald Templer, and his plan was to win the hearts and mind of the people along with a ruthless use of power. Thus air force, army, navy and police along with district administration were all put under one roof, second important aspect was gathering of intelligence, Templer laid high emphasis on this, he created special branch of police for this purpose, raising of home guard was another milestone as through this Templer inducted local Chinese into force and armed them, it won him the desired confidence of local population, the existing food denial was made even more harsh for the communists, above all Templer dealt with an iron hand with any incident, he from the beginning gave examples of this by putting the whole town on curfew and strict rationing where an incident had occurred and people were not coming forward with the information, thus collective punishment were introduced. 'Templer in short was a dictator' [276].By 1953 the emergency had run out of steam and in 1954 the communists agreed for talks and in 1957 the Malay was given independence yet Commonwealth forces remained there and finally on 30th July 1960 emergency was lifted.

Analysis

Purely from military aspect, the British military did not lived up to expectations, it was overwhelming in numbers and equipment and had vast experience of jungle warfare also yet it took it almost a decade to overcome the limited number of insurgents but compare to French in same time period and later of Americans it has succeeded . British military adopted a total war concept about the terrorists, there were no morality involved, there was no hesitation in using extensive force or fire power. Above all there was a will to fight as shown from the use of Ferret Force and employment of Head hunters and Dyaks. The question arise why it was not able to overcome the small number of communists in first go and why it took it so long. The most viable answer lies in the culture of armed forces which is always slow to adapt to new realities and is always over confident when it has

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Robert Jackson, *The Malayan Emergency* {Yorkshire,Pen and Sword,2008} p 35

276 Robert Banner, *Jungle Bashers A British Infantry Battalion in the Malayan Emergency 1951-1954* {Cheshire,Fleur De Lys,2002}p 33

numerical superiority, the traditional rivalry among services and between military and civil, tendency to utilise any conflict for advancement and regimental glory always act as a drag.

Since British military had no real opposition thus it went on experimenting, the use of helicopters in 1950 onwards was a great morale booster, over 5000 casualties [277] were heli evacuated during the campaign, and over 45000 troops were heli transported, heli insertion of troops in battle field was a major tactical innovation, in 1953 during Operation Bamboo over 546 troops were heli inserted into jungle in seven hours by eight helicopters. Helicopters were also used for spraying toxic material on terrorist crop areas. Air force remained on offensive with the comfort that there is no anti aircraft weapons, it employed and tested almost all kinds of weapons, in may 1953 it almost dropped over 154000 pounds of bombs in two days in a few square miles of jungle, napalm were used, the Australian air force squadron in eight years of flying dropped over 17500 tons of bombs in 4000 sorties [278].

Conclusion

British military failed to overcome insurgents at its own. Emergency was overcome through use of military and political means.a total of 1,865 personnel of security forces lost their lives with another 2,560 being wounded, civilian losses were 2,473 killed and 810 wounded and 6,698 communists were killed,2,819 wounded and 2,675 surrendered[279] .Emergency cost was around 700 million Pounds[280]. It is not always fruitful to use maximum force to crush any rebel no matter how small it is, the indecisive local population or sympathisers of the rebels holds the key and they should be treated with care and should be won over in first priority. The role of civilian and politicians is paramount as they most of the time think beyond the tunnel vision of military officers. In the end it was a joint effort which was never rigid and fought on all three fronts of military, political and ideology.

Counter insurgency is nothing but deception and deceit void of all morality and principles ,aim is gain time to diffuse tension, divide the locals, create hate for the insurgents, lure them with money and comfort and this is how Malay Emergency was won, there fore one must portray himself as a saint patron which Templer did and yet hides the iron hand . In the end British succeed because they paid heed to following

‘ To make war upon rebellion is messy and slow, like eating soup with a knife’

Colonel T.E.Lawrence ,*Seven Pillars Of Wisdom*

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Robert Jackson, *The Malayan Emergency*{Yorkshire,Pen and Sword,2008} p 97

278 Ibid p 78

279 Nagl, *Learning to Eat Soup*, p 103

280 Jackson,*The Malayan Emergency* p 115

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Taliban & Mujaheeden

Afghanistan has a history of violence and armed resistance and they are the only Islamic country which in last two hundred years have not come under any foreign or non Islamic regime. 'Mujahideen' is an Arabic word which means holy warrior and it is used to identify Afghans who fought against the soviet backed regime and soviet forces between 1979-1989,after the with drawl of soviets the mujahideen groups which were having inherent linguistic and religious differences fought among each other as ruthlessly as they were fighting against the communists and this lead to another fanatic religious group taking birth the 'Taliban' which is a Persian word denoting student of a religious Islamic school[281], who ruled Afghanistan from 1994 till their military defeat by American forces in 2001 for their alleged protection to the most hunted organisation and man in history Al-Qaeeda and Osama bin Laden. The hunt is still on and talibans have not been eliminated rather they are still making the headlines ,only last week the government of Pakistan have signed a peace accord with their sympathisers in Swat.

Both Mujahideen and Taliban took birth in Afghanistan which has an area of 252,830 square miles, population in 1979 was 17 million,99% of them are muslim however there are ancient bhuddist remains in Bamian province. literacy rate is less than 10%,majority of population almost 85% lives in rural area[282]. The social pattern of country is wholly male dominating, agriculture is scarce and major crops are opium and related products. Weapon is an ornament of every afghan. The tribal system is the working system based upon centuries old customs and tradition. Elders are respected and so are religious clergy. The Islamic population is divided into two main sects,90% are sunni and other are shias, both have long history of feud and difference and are backed by Saudi Arabia and Iran. Another distinct feature of Afghan society is its division on linguistic and tribal basis. The Pashtuns are 50% of population and their tribes are mainly in eastern Afghanistan spilling over into neighbouring Pakistan ,the northerners are Tajiks and southerns are shia and hazarajats. Afghanistan came into existence in 1747,founded by a pashtun Ahmed Shah Durrani, 'it was then merely a confederation of tribes and khanates'[283].

Islam is in fact the binding spirit in Afghanistan, all traditions and cultural roots are inline with Islamic teachings which itself is based upon 'Koran' the divine book and 'sunna' the life of Muhammad the prophet of islam. There is a mosque in every village and at times more than two, all Islamic principles like annual pilgrimage to Mecca{once in a life}the annual one month fasting, slaughtering of animals, non interest trade, non alcohol consumption [although afghans were the biggest smugglers of alcohol in region during seventies], the most prominent feature of afghan society is the treatment of women according to Islamic principles which are veil ,death for adultery, confinement to house and absence from public life.

The sunni and shias have bitter interpretation of islam and Koran, at times these differences can result in long bloody feuds which annually can claim over hundred of lives. Sunnis and shias seldom offer prayers together, the religious teacher 'Mullah' holds an important role in afghan society this title is attained after a talib{student} has studied religion for over twelve years

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[281] Kamal Matinuddin *The Taliban Phenomenon Afghanistan 1994-1997*{Karachi,Oxford,,1999} p 12

[282] Lester and Michael ,ed, *The Soviet Afghan War how a superpower fought and lost*, {Kansas,University Press of Kansas, 2002}p 2-6

[283] Kamal Matinuddin, *The Taliban phenomenon* ,{Oxford,Karachi,1998}p 1

Mujhadeen, The Holy Warriors

After the April 1978 marxist revolution in Afghanistan over 150 mullahs were confined and imprisoned and after their release these fled to Pakistan and declared 'jihad'[284] the holy war against the communists, many followers joined them and after the soviet invasion ,the western and Pakistani interest in overthrowing the soviets resulted in using this religious 'jihad' to rally the muslim population of not only Afghanistan but also of entire Islamic world ,in Islamic history the people who fought early wars of Islam are also called mujaheed .Thus resistance to soviet became a religious war , it was the battle cry and it worked because soon arabs and other muslims from all over the world started pouring into Pakistan to fight the jihad.

These mujahideen were a blend of tribes,farmers and university students. Two most prominent mujahideen leaders Gul Badin Hikmatyar and Ahmed Shah Masooud were both graduates of Kabul University and many other leaders were either tribal patriarch or moderate religious men like Rabbani and Sayyaf. The difference between them as noted by Brigadier Yousaf was 'moderate can accept a woman in trouser but not in mini skirt where as a fundamentalist cannot'[285].

Over five million people[286] migrated from Afghanistan to Pakistan ,which by itself is not unusual as majority of these had blood ties in the neighbouring tribes.There was a life that was going on in the camps, which were mainly tents and mud houses inhabited by women ,children and elders. The education which these children received was only religious ,they were raised and groomed for only one purpose to fight, thus a child who was five years old when war broke out in 1979 was fifteen when it ended and thoroughly indoctrinated in religious teaching of war, hate for infidels, and conservatism about women. these seminaries are part of culture and also necessity ,mainly funded by the rich gulf states who prefer having their own brand of sunni islam being spread. The religious seminaries called madreesah is an integral part of culture, they provide free education to boys and it consist of only about religion.in 1992 there were over 100 deeni madrasahs in Pakistan with over 30,000 students[287].

After the soviet with drawl on 15th February the afghan government held the fort and defied the mujhadeen attacks. The most notable feature was the inter party fighting among the mujahedeen, in one instance the Hikmat yar group ambushed Masood's commanders and killed over a dozen ,in retaliation Masood hunted them and hanged them publicly[288]. Pakistan was actively supporting the mujahedeen in a vain hope to have a consolidated control over Afghanistan. The mujhaadeen finally took control of Kabul but it was the northern group of uzbecks who were in control and not the pashtuns. The country was in civil war and war lords took control of varying cities looting, violence and killing was common, that was the state when the Taliban emerged. Thus mujhadeen failed as rulers to provide safety and security to people and country was in anarchy with independent war lords having own control of cities.

Rise of Taliban

[284] Ibid p,21
[285] Muhammad Yousaf and Mark Adkin,*The Battle for Afghanistan*,{Yorkshire,Pen and Sword,2007}p. 40
[286] Ahmed Rashid *Descent into Chaos* {London,Penguin,2008}p. 8
[287] Kamal *Taliban Phenomenon* , pp. 14-16
[288] Stephen Tanner *Afghanistan a military history*,{Massachusets,Da Capro,2003 } p. 272

One day in October 1994 there was an incident of sodomy in Kandahar{not unusual} and one Mullah Omar a 39 years old jihad veteran ,who had lost one eye against soviets and wounded couple of times and was passing his time by running a deeni madreesah having 30-40 taliban rushed to the scene along with them and few other comrades, he took hold of situation and from there onwards they within days got control of Kandhar and restored peace[289] .Pakistan also helped them as they escorted their thirty trucks convoy safely through the southern Afghanistan, Taliban also captured over 180000 AK-47 rifles from Spinboldack area. Taliban were young Afghans of pashtun ethnic back ground and sunni by faith ,they were mainly the students of seminaries in Pakistan and in border area, in fact they were the war orphans of jihad who were job less had nothing to look for future and engraved with Islamic values, thus they became the van guard and other groups started following them. Mullah omar himself stated 'we took up arms to achieve the aims of the afghan jihad and save our people from further suffering at the hands of the so called mujahdeen'[290]the mujahedeen also joined them as the motto of this movement was restoration of peace in Afghanistan and Islamic values. A total of over 35000 talibans from Pakistan base seminaries joined them majority of them were pashtuns[291]. After taking over Kandhar the Taliban issued decree that put an end to the unrest and lawlessness ,people were ordered to hand over their weapons something unheard of in Afghanistan but it was implemented. It was at this time that they carried out public stoning of adulters and cutting hands of thieves, they also banned the women from coming into open without full veil. All these acts were in true tradition of islam, Mullah Omar and his colleagues all lived in same mud houses and conducted their chores while sitting on floor which is an Islamic and afghan tradition thus they became a symbol of Islamic renaissance in its purest form ,this is what attracted the Taliban of Pakistan and compelled other mujahideen groups to surrender and join their ranks.Not all mujahideen groups did this and Taliban had to fight pitch battles like in Heerat in 1995.This was a major deviation from the past war as Taliban did not resorted to guerrilla war fare rather preferred open attacks.

In 1995 Taliban struck against Hikmat Yar and forced him out of Afghanistan and also clashed against the Shiites Hazaras and on 19th March 1995 Taliban came face to face against the Lion Of Panjsher Massoud who gave them first taste of defeat but Taliban retaliated and finally capturing Kabul in September 1996 although the Masooud and Hikmat Yar had united against them. From this point onwards they constantly remained engaged in a war with the northern people of Afghanistan and attempted to capture Mazar Shariff thus till the American invasion of Afghanistan the Talibans were never really in command of Afghanistan ,they had all the country except the Panjshir Valley.

Taliban ideology was very simple. adherence to Islamic teaching of Koran and peace in Afghanistan, they had no political agenda and neither they were working for any country although by virtue of religious affiliation they were close to sunni Pakistan and Saudi Arabia than the shia Iran. The deep rooted conflict between sunni and shias resulted in bitter opposition to Taliban in southern Afghanistan.

Taliban rule was unique because they were living in seventh century Arabia and simulating the life of early caliphs and teaching of prophet coupled with the tradition and customs of afghan. They had no diplomatic ties with any state other than Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, they had no embassy no foreign policy or political agenda, it was the fourteen hundred years old religious book Koran which was their manifesto and everything had to be done according to it ,since Koran states that woman are inferior to men thus they are, as Koran states the punishment of adultery is public stoning

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[289] Peter Marsden, *The Taliban,War ,Religion and new order*, {Karachi,Oxford,1998}, p. 43.
[290] Rashid, *Taliban,* ,p. 23.
[291] Kamal,*Taliban*,p 16

thus it has to be like this. 'the woman mother of seven has confessed killing her husband ,sentence of death up held by three courts….she was shot in head in front of 20,000 crowd'[292]. In other instance women accused of adultery was stoned to death publicly, thieves hands were cut in public and Taliban for the first time in Afghan history banned opium cultivation

These acts were looked with disdain in civilised world but were applauded in Islamic world especially in neighbouring Pakistan apart from the fundamentalist Saudi Arabia. The world took first serious notice of Taliban when in 2001 they decided to destroy the thousand years old Bhudda carving in Bamian province[293].No amount of pressure could sway them from this ,neither offer of money nor threat of force. Pakistani president General Musharraf admits in autobiography, that he tried hard to convince the Taliban but he refused, even Saudi crown prince went to Kandhar to meet Omar,who met him in a mud house sitting on a floor and when prince accused him of lying he simply rushed out and later came back drenched in water ,and said I have just poured cold water over my head to cool myself,had you not been my guest I would have done something to you.

Taliban might have been still in power had not the 9/11 event took place, resultantly whole world became paranoid with the Osama and Al-Qaeeda and both were reportedly in Afghanistan. Any other regime in world would have buckled under the dire straits but Taliban were not normal and they simply refused to even acknowledge their existence and later admitted that even if Osama is here we will not hand over him because under afghan tradition he is our guest and has seek protection and we will abide with our tradition and USA must provide the evidence and later even agreed to handing over Osama to be tried by an international court provided evidence is given of his involvement in terrorism. It is worth recording that Afghanistan was attacked by over seventy American cruise missiles in August 1998 on alleged AlQaeeda bases for their role in bombing USA embassies in Kenya and Tanzania a month early[294]

American forces started bombing Afghanistan from 7th October 2001[295] and on 19th October 2001 the first ever US marine operation against Taliban was launched at Kandhar ,on 21st October American started bombing Taliban front line soldiers facing against northern alliance in the north of kabul this bombing reached its crescendo on 5th November when American used daisy cutter bombs,Kabul fell to northern alliance on 12th november and on 26th November 2001the first batch of American Marines landed at Kabul and on 02 December 2001 the operation Anaconda was launched to capture Alqaeeda,,neither Osama has been found and nor Al Qaeeda has been defeated rather their has been an increase in AlQaeeda attacks now directed against the NATO countries like Spain{Madrid}UK {London} and Pakistan who is not a NATO member but an active member of the alliance. Mullah Omar also escaped allegedly on a Honda motor cycle.

Analysis of Taliban and Mujhadeen

Mujhadeen and Taliban are two sides of one coin, they share same culture, language, heritage, religion, and history. Mujhadeen were created artificially to fight a super power which they already were fighting as isolated individual tribes, parties and groups basing upon their centuries old traditions .They were based in Pakistan ,they were funded by the Western countries and Gulf states, they were trained and indoctrinated by the religious and political groups based in Pakistan. Even the families of all these mujhadeen fighters and all other people who migrated from Afghanistan were given the

[292] Jason Burke *Al-Qaeeda* {London,Penguin,2004} p.117.
[293] Pervez Musharraf, ,*In The Line of Fire*, {London,Simon & Schuster,2006} pp. 214-215.
[294] Rashid *Taliban*, p135
[295] Tanner ,*Afghanistan*,pp 296-298

religious meaning of mujahedeen .Yet these mujhadeen were not hardliner as Taliban. The mujhadeen were too diversified in culture. The northern Uzbecks in 1992 had over 1800 girls[296] studying in Balkh University the only operational university of Afghanistan.Mujhadeen were united as long as their interests were there however the inbuilt tribal feuds were too high and rigid to be overcome by them thus they remain loggerhead moreover the interest of Pakistan in having pashtun based power as opposed to Uzbeck base was another factor of constant civil war.

Taliban were an independent idealistic movement which was not based upon tribal code but on that unifying element of religion however since the religion itself is divided into sects thus Taliban pursued their own sect of sunni islam which the 90% of Afghans followed and since they were so deep rooted into religion that they saw the other sects as non muslims and acted according to the teaching of their own sect that is the reason of their killing over 6000 hazarajats shittes in Mazar Shariff battle of July 1998 and it should also be noted that almost 3000 Talibans were also killed by the other sect in a battle in the same city a year ago.This religious difference also put Taliban against the shia based Iran whom majority of sunni muslims consider almost non Islamic in nature.

Militarily Taliban differ from mujahadeen ,because unlike them taliban failed to offer a stiff reistance to American forces. Taliban had to fight against their countrymen more than the Mujahadeen. The major reason lies in the fact that where as the Mujahadeen call was nationalistic the Taliban cause was revolving around the religion. The arab connection of Osama with Taliban is not new[297], Osama fought with mujahedeen in 1988 and funded them it was sheer coincidence that when he returned from Sudan in 1995-6 the Taliban were on the surge and their ideology was in line with his ie the spread of Islam and practical application of Muhammad's teaching.

Both mujahedden and Taliban were backed by the Pakistan military in covert and overt way,Pakistan had strategic interest in the region and over 40 million pashtuns are living in Pakistan thus it always welcomes a pashtun hold of Afghanistan, taliban remained under Pakistan influence for a short time but later they carved their own policy which in any case was in line with Saudi and Pakistani thinking.

Taliban had a consistency in their ideology, they for the first time were able to eradicate the opium cultivation and also to disarm the society.

Conclusion

As Nazis cannot be separated from the Germans of WW1 or a Stalinist cannot be differentiate from a Leninist ,similarly Taliban cannot be differed from Mujahadeen, they were part of them, yet they revolted against them because of mujhadeen's inter fighting and lack of security but it all happened without any preconceived plan.. They were as militarily sharp as the Mujahadeen thus they avoided the direct confrontation with American forces and retreated to mountains,

Taliban are an ideology which is based upon religion so was the mujahadeen's but the difference lies in the fact where mujahedeen were to fight a foreign aggressor the Taliban were to reconstruct the society and get rid of all vices and this message has has spread to the east, into Pakistan where there tribal brethren and religious seminaries are located and they have started a reign of suicide bombing in Pakistan, starting a similar movement in Swat area, emphasising upon the dress code and role of women ,banning all music and video shops. Thus Taliban ideology is more deep

[296] Rashid *Taliban* p52
[297] Jason Burke, Al-Qaeeda, {London,Penguin,2004} p.134.

rooted than the ideology of Mujahadeen which in fact promised the same but never got the chance to implement this, furthermore Mujahadeen were too linguistic and tribally divided than these Talibans. Another characteristic of Taliban is the poor background of their entire leadership and their being disabled in one form or the other thus their appeal to the poor muslim masses is now more and finally Taliban consider and legitimise their actions in society also as jihad therefore they are mujahedeen as well.

'All men dream but not equally, those who dream by night in the dusty recesses of their minds wake in the day to find that it was vanity, but the dreamers of the day are dangerous men, for they may act their dreams with open eyes, to make it possible.'

Colonel T.E. Lawrence *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, p. 7

Taliban- Afghanistan - America

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[298] Kamal Matinuddin *The Taliban Phenomenon Afghanistan 1994-1997*{Karachi,Oxford,,1999} p 12
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Mujhadeen, The Holy Warriors

After the April 1978 marxist revolution in Afghanistan over 150 mullahs were confined and imprisoned and after their release these fled to Pakistan and declared 'jihad'[301] the holy war against the communists, many followers joined them and after the soviet invasion ,the western and Pakistani interest in overthrowing the soviets resulted in using this religious 'jihad' to rally the muslim population of not only Afghanistan but also of entire Islamic world ,in Islamic history the people who fought early wars of Islam are also called mujaheed .Thus resistance to soviet became a religious war , it was the battle cry and it worked because soon arabs and other muslims from all over the world started pouring into Pakistan to fight the jihad.

These mujahideen were a blend of tribes,farmers and university students. Two most prominent mujahideen leaders Gul Badin Hikmatyar and Ahmed Shah Masooud were both graduates of Kabul University and many other leaders were either tribal patriarch or moderate religious men like Rabbani and Sayyaf. The difference between them as noted by Brigadier Yousaf was 'moderate can accept a woman in trouser but not in mini skirt where as a fundamentalist cannot'[302].

Over five million people[303] migrated from Afghanistan to Pakistan ,which by itself is not unusual as majority of these had blood ties in the neighbouring tribes.There was a life that was going on in the camps, which were mainly tents and mud houses inhabited by women ,children and elders. The education which these children received was only religious ,they were raised and groomed for only one purpose to fight, thus a child who was five years old when war broke out in 1979 was fifteen when it ended and thoroughly indoctrinated in religious teaching of war, hate for infidels, and conservatism about women. these seminaries are part of culture and also necessity ,mainly funded by the rich gulf states who prefer having their own brand of sunni islam being spread. The religious seminaries called madreesah is an integral part of culture, they provide free education to boys and it

[300] Kamal Matinuddin, *The Taliban phenomenon* ,{Oxford,Karachi,1998}p 1
[301] Ibid p,21
[302] Muhammad Yousaf and Mark Adkin,*The Battle for Afghanistan*,{Yorkshire,Pen and Sword,2007}p. 40
[303] Ahmed Rashid *Descent into Chaos* {London,Penguin,2008}p. 8

consist of only about religion.in 1992 there were over 100 deeni madrasahs in Pakistan with over 30,000 students[304].

After the soviet with drawl on 15th February the afghan government held the fort and defied the mujhadeen attacks. The most notable feature was the inter party fighting among the mujahedeen, in one instance the Hikmat yar group ambushed Masood's commanders and killed over a dozen ,in retaliation Masood hunted them and hanged them publicly[305]. Pakistan was actively supporting the mujahedeen in a vain hope to have a consolidated control over Afghanistan. The mujhaadeen finally took control of Kabul but it was the northern group of uzbecks who were in control and not the pashtuns. The country was in civil war and war lords took control of varying cities looting, violence and killing was common, that was the state when the Taliban emerged. Thus mujhadeen failed as rulers to provide safety and security to people and country was in anarchy with independent war lords having own control of cities.

Rise of Taliban

One day in October 1994 there was an incident of sodomy in Kandahar{not unusual} and one Mullah Omar a 39 years old jihad veteran ,who had lost one eye against soviets and wounded couple of times and was passing his time by running a deeni madreesah having 30-40 taliban rushed to the scene along with them and few other comrades, he took hold of situation and from there onwards they within days got control of Kandhar and restored peace[306] .Pakistan also helped them as they escorted their thirty trucks convoy safely through the southern Afghanistan, Taliban also captured over 180000 AK-47 rifles from Spinboldack area. Taliban were young Afghans of pashtun ethnic back ground and sunni by faith ,they were mainly the students of seminaries in Pakistan and in border area, in fact they were the war orphans of jihad who were job less had nothing to look for future and engraved with Islamic values, thus they became the van guard and other groups started following them. Mullah omar himself stated 'we took up arms to achieve the aims of the afghan jihad and save our people from further suffering at the hands of the so called mujahdeen'[307]the mujahedeen also joined them as the motto of this movement was restoration of peace in Afghanistan and Islamic values. A total of over 35000 talibans from Pakistan base seminaries joined them majority of them were pashtuns[308]. After taking over Kandhar the Taliban issued decree that put an end to the unrest and lawlessness ,people were ordered to hand over their weapons something unheard of in Afghanistan but it was implemented. It was at this time that they carried out public stoning of adulters and cutting hands of thieves, they also banned the women from coming into open without full veil. All these acts were in true tradition of islam, Mullah Omar and his colleagues all lived in same mud houses and conducted their chores while sitting on floor which is an Islamic and afghan tradition thus they became a symbol of Islamic renaissance in its purest form ,this is what attracted the Taliban of Pakistan and compelled other mujahideen groups to surrender and join their ranks.Not all mujahideen groups did this and Taliban had to fight pitch battles like in Heerat in 1995.This was a major deviation from the past war as Taliban did not resorted to guerrilla war fare rather preferred open attacks.

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[304] Kamal *Taliban Phenomenon* , pp. 14-16
[305] Stephen Tanner *Afghanistan a military history*,{Massachusets,Da Capro,2003 } p. 272
[306] Peter Marsden, *The Taliban,War ,Religion and new order*, {Karachi,Oxford,1998}, p. 43.
[307] Rashid, *Taliban,* ,p. 23.
[308] Kamal,*Taliban*,p 16

In 1995 Taliban struck against Hikmat Yar and forced him out of Afghanistan and also clashed against the Shiites Hazaras and on 19th March 1995 Taliban came face to face against the Lion Of Panjsher Massoud who gave them first taste of defeat but Taliban retaliated and finally capturing Kabul in September 1996 although the Masooud and Hikmat Yar had united against them. From this point onwards they constantly remained engaged in a war with the northern people of Afghanistan and attempted to capture Mazar Shariff thus till the American invasion of Afghanistan the Talibans were never really in command of Afghanistan ,they had all the country except the Panjshir Valley.

Taliban ideology was very simple. adherence to Islamic teaching of Koran and peace in Afghanistan, they had no political agenda and neither they were working for any country although by virtue of religious affiliation they were close to sunni Pakistan and Saudi Arabia than the shia Iran. The deep rooted conflict between sunni and shias resulted in bitter opposition to Taliban in southern Afghanistan.

Taliban rule was unique because they were living in seventh century Arabia and simulating the life of early caliphs and teaching of prophet coupled with the tradition and customs of afghan. They had no diplomatic ties with any state other than Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, they had no embassy no foreign policy or political agenda, it was the fourteen hundred years old religious book Koran which was their manifesto and everything had to be done according to it ,since Koran states that woman are inferior to men thus they are, as Koran states the punishment of adultery is public stoning thus it has to be like this. 'the woman mother of seven has confessed killing her husband ,sentence of death up held by three courts….she was shot in head in front of 20,000 crowd'[309]. In other instance women accused of adultery was stoned to death publicly, thieves hands were cut in public and Taliban for the first time in Afghan history banned opium cultivation

These acts were looked with disdain in civilised world but were applauded in Islamic world especially in neighbouring Pakistan apart from the fundamentalist Saudi Arabia. The world took first serious notice of Taliban when in 2001 they decided to destroy the thousand years old Bhudda carving in Bamian province[310].No amount of pressure could sway them from this ,neither offer of money nor threat of force. Pakistani president General Musharraf admits in autobiography, that he tried hard to convince the Taliban but he refused, even Saudi crown prince went to Kandhar to meet Omar,who met him in a mud house sitting on a floor and when prince accused him of lying he simply rushed out and later came back drenched in water ,and said I have just poured cold water over my head to cool myself,had you not been my guest I would have done something to you.

Taliban might have been still in power had not the 9/11 event took place, resultantly whole world became paranoid with the Osama and Al-Qaeeda and both were reportedly in Afghanistan. Any other regime in world would have buckled under the dire straits but Taliban were not normal and they simply refused to even acknowledge their existence and later admitted that even if Osama is here we will not hand over him because under afghan tradition he is our guest and has seek protection and we will abide with our tradition and USA must provide the evidence and later even agreed to handing over Osama to be tried by an international court provided evidence is given of his involvement in terrorism. It is worth recording that Afghanistan was attacked by over seventy American cruise missiles in August 1998 on alleged AlQaeeda bases for their role in bombing USA embassies in Kenya and Tanzania a month early[311]

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[309] Jason Burke *Al-Qaeeda* {London,Penguin,2004} p.117.
[310] Pervez Musharraf, ,*In The Line of Fire*, {London,Simon & Schuster,2006} pp. 214-215.
[311] Rashid *Taliban*, p135

American forces started bombing Afghanistan from 7th October 2001[312] and on 19th October 2001 the first ever US marine operation against Taliban was launched at Kandhar ,on 21st October American started bombing Taliban front line soldiers facing against northern alliance in the north of kabul this bombing reached its crescendo on 5th November when American used daisy cutter bombs,Kabul fell to northern alliance on 12th november and on 26th November 2001the first batch of American Marines landed at Kabul and on 02 December 2001 the operation Anaconda was launched to capture Alqaeeda,,neither Osama has been found and nor Al Qaeeda has been defeated rather their has been an increase in AlQaeeda attacks now directed against the NATO countries like Spain{Madrid}UK {London} and Pakistan who is not a NATO member but an active member of the alliance. Mullah Omar also escaped allegedly on a Honda motor cycle.

Analysis of Taliban and Mujhadeen

Mujhadeen and Taliban are two sides of one coin, they share same culture, language, heritage, religion, and history. Mujhadeen were created artificially to fight a super power which they already were fighting as isolated individual tribes, parties and groups basing upon their centuries old traditions .They were based in Pakistan ,they were funded by the Western countries and Gulf states, they were trained and indoctrinated by the religious and political groups based in Pakistan. Even the families of all these mujhadeen fighters and all other people who migrated from Afghanistan were given the religious meaning of mujahedeen .Yet these mujhadeen were not hardliner as Taliban. The mujhadeen were too diversified in culture. The northern Uzbecks in 1992 had over 1800 girls[313] studying in Balkh University the only operational university of Afghanistan.Mujhadeen were united as long as their interests were there however the inbuilt tribal feuds were too high and rigid to be overcome by them thus they remain loggerhead moreover the interest of Pakistan in having pashtun based power as opposed to Uzbeck base was another factor of constant civil war.

Taliban were an independent idealistic movement which was not based upon tribal code but on that unifying element of religion however since the religion itself is divided into sects thus Taliban pursued their own sect of sunni islam which the 90% of Afghans followed and since they were so deep rooted into religion that they saw the other sects as non muslims and acted according to the teaching of their own sect that is the reason of their killing over 6000 hazarajats shittes in Mazar Shariff battle of July 1998 and it should also be noted that almost 3000 Talibans were also killed by the other sect in a battle in the same city a year ago.This religious difference also put Taliban against the shia based Iran whom majority of sunni muslims consider almost non Islamic in nature.

Militarily Taliban differ from mujahadeen ,because unlike them taliban failed to offer a stiff reistance to American forces. Taliban had to fight against their countrymen more than the Mujahadeen. The major reason lies in the fact that where as the Mujahadeen call was nationalistic the Taliban cause was revolving around the religion. The arab connection of Osama with Taliban is not new[314], Osama fought with mujahedeen in 1988 and funded them it was sheer coincidence that when he returned from Sudan in 1995-6 the Taliban were on the surge and their ideology was in line with his ie the spread of Islam and practical application of Muhammad's teaching.

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[312] Tanner ,*Afghanistan*,pp 296-298
[313] Rashid *Taliban* p52
[314] Jason Burke, Al-Qaeeda, {London,Penguin,2004} p.134.

Both mujahedden and Taliban were backed by the Pakistan military in covert and overt way,Pakistan had strategic interest in the region and over 40 million pashtuns are living in Pakistan thus it always welcomes a pashtun hold of Afghanistan, taliban remained under Pakistan influence for a short time but later they carved their own policy which in any case was in line with Saudi and Pakistani thinking.

Taliban had a consistency in their ideology, they for the first time were able to eradicate the opium cultivation and also to disarm the society.

Conclusion

As Nazis cannot be separated from the Germans of WW1 or a Stalinist cannot be differentiate from a Leninist ,similarly Taliban cannot be differed from Mujahadeen, they were part of them, yet they revolted against them because of mujhadeen's inter fighting and lack of security but it all happened without any preconceived plan.. They were as militarily sharp as the Mujahadeen thus they avoided the direct confrontation with American forces and retreated to mountains,

Taliban are an ideology which is based upon religion so was the mujahadeen's but the difference lies in the fact where mujahedeen were to fight a foreign aggressor the Taliban were to reconstruct the society and get rid of all vices and this message has has spread to the east, into Pakistan where there tribal brethren and religious seminaries are located and they have started a reign of suicide bombing in Pakistan, starting a similar movement in Swat area, emphasising upon the dress code and role of women ,banning all music and video shops. Thus Taliban ideology is more deep rooted than the ideology of Mujahadeen which in fact promised the same but never got the chance to implement this, furthermore Mujahadeen were too linguistic and tribally divided than these Talibans. Another characteristic of Taliban is the poor background of their entire leadership and their being disabled in one form or the other thus their appeal to the poor muslim masses is now more and finally Taliban consider and legitimise their actions in society also as jihad therefore they are mujahedeen as well.

American Reliance on Air Power

Americans have a romance with air, they utilised air balloon in their civil war and later in 1899[315] conference at Haig it was again an American Captain Crozier who resisted the idea of including air balloons as part of arms control and finally it was two Americans who became the first human to fly heavier than air machine. The first WW highlighted the third dimension domination and subsequently Italian Guilio Douhett and American Billy Mitchell propagated its all out use in future. What American Admiral Mahan had been stressing in late 19th century that a strong navy is essential for American domination of the world was altered by Mitchell who prophesised 'sea power is almost a thing of past….more economical and effective aircraft has become a symbol of national power'[316].This was validated by the strategic bombing of WW2 and finally the collapse of Japan through the use of nuclear weapon dropped from air .However the debate that whether airpower alone can win any war raged till the end of cold war during which America engaged in a multiple of military activity,the Berlin air lift, Korea and Vietnam, yet Americans failed to achieve an outright victory in

[315] Lee Kennet ,*The First Air War 1914-1918*,{New York,Free Press,1991}, p ,2.

[316] Mitchell Billy '*Winged Warfare* in the *Roots of Strategy* ed by David Jablonsky , [Mechanicburg,Stackpole,1999],pp 417-442.

any of these conflicts. In mid seventies and early eighties the idea of air land battle was envisaged by the Pentagon which centred around European theatre, it conveyed a joint co-ordinated attack utilising air force and army on a narrow front.

Purely from academic point its difficult to decide what airpower represents in case of America, because its military system is different from rest of world military, its army has more aircraft than air force, navy has fourteen aircraft carrier groups, marines has own aircraft the F-18s,both navy and air force possessed cruise missiles, Central command explains airpower as air campaign in which 'cruise missiles, fighters, and bombers are utilised'[317] thus it includes USN ,US marines, and USAF but excludes the use of army and this paper will revolve around the scarlet thread of whether airpower has become a tool for implementation of USA policy around the globe especially after the end of cold war .

The first gulf war which started with Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on 2nd August 1990 was the first major challenge for the American military after the debacle of Vietnam, which had altered the American strategic culture fundamentally in a sense that human casualties especially of American souls became paramount and no political party could survive a term who suffered such. Iraq in August 1990 was in a position after capturing Kuwait to invade Saudi Arabia and become master of worlds 20% of oil thus the first action of President George Bush was to send 48 F-15C[318] air superiority fighters from Virginia to Dahran , they took almost fifteen hours to reach there where as the navy stated they need almost fifteen days to do so. The arrival of American aircraft gave an assurance to the allies that America is with them and that was possible through the air power. By 23 August there were over 437 USA [319]aircraft in the theatre which later peaked over 1000. The heavy American ground forces started arriving in the theatre by end October 1990 although the lead elements of 82nd airborne division were in position by 8th August .This is was the turning point in the American military history, had the Iraqi decided to invade the Saudi Arabia the overall complexion of the war might have been different but it was the air power that held them back and when air campaign started on 17th January 19991 in first few hours the American led air armada destroyed the command and control structures of Iraq and it lasted till 26th February when ground forces moved and ended the campaign in 100 hours with less than a platoon casualties in a over half million army.

The B-52 bombers hit Iraqi republican guards every hour, twenty four hours a day for entire war. The coalition flew over 110,000 sorties through 3380 aircraft, they flew 2388 sorties on the first night, hitting over 400 targets,210,000 unguided bombs were dropped,9342 laser guided bombs and 5448 surface to air missile,2039 anti radiation missiles and 333 cruise missiles were fired coalition lost 47 aircraft and 21 helicopters[320]. The air force had virtually reduced the Iraqi forces to a level

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[317] Michael Delong, *Inside Centcom, The Unvarnished Truth about the Wars in Afghanistan and Iraq* [Washington,Regnery,2004],p, 82.

[318] Robert Citino, *Blitzkrieg To Desert Storm*,[Kansas, University of Kansas,2004],

P, 277.

[319] Ibid,p,215.

[320] Tony Mason, *Air Power A Centennial Appraisal*,[London,Brassey's,1997],

Pp,163-165.

where Saddam accepted the initial American terms but resisted to leave his equipment in Kuwait and for that the ground war was conducted. Congress in December 1990 was told to be ready to face up to 100 aircraft loss in 20.000 sorties because Iraq had over 700 combat aircraft and over 11000 missiles and 8500 anti aircraft guns and Baghdad was more protected than any target in Eastern Europe but in the end there were less than 300 American causalities none from USAF.

It was monumental affair not many of the world population had seen war especially the post Vietnam generation and post WW2 generation in Europe and same holds true for middle eastern and Asian for the fact that by this time world had become a global village thanks to the satellite and information technology where people of all shades of life followed this war minute by minute, they saw the laser bomb penetrating through the ventilation shaft of Iraqi national defence centre thus blinding the Iraqi forces[321].The war according to Clausewitz must have an aim and that aim is peace thus USA president and commander in chief has to weigh the balance between policy and war, air war thus presented that ability that represents instant reaction and affirmation of words spoken and not merely bluff and acts as a coercion fact on the intended states.

America had always tried to portray itself as the righteous nation where real politicks has been shrouded into vanity but the clout of nuclear bombing and napalm bombing during Vietnam had polluted this image and this picture is more strong and vivid in under developing states, therefore this air power of precision ,lethality but sparing civilians and subsequently giving the evidence in the form of almost live chain of events helped a lot in public relation. There were already wide spread demonstration across Asia against this invasion in Pakistan the newly elected democratic government was about to collapse due to difference with army chief on supporting the USA, similar was the state in Jordan and Egypt .

On military side the role of air power is debatable ,on one hand it was air power that kept knocking out the Republican guards yet in the end it was the equipment of Iraqi army that caused coalition invasion. One major fundamental academic and doctrinal aspect was brought out by USAF General Horner ,highlighting the terminology of tactical, operational and strategy 'To airman it is meaningless…Airpower is essentially very simple aircraft can hit target with precision quickly and over a wide area'[322].This was a dramatic change from the traditional concept of tactical and strategic air force. The heavy bombers like B-52G and F-117 operated from Diego Garcia where as all other fighters, tactical fighter-bombers, air superiority, air borne electronic, air borne early warning aircraft that numbered over three thousand operated from Saudi Arabia, and Turkey. The munitions for over 500 hundred USAF aircraft in the instant reaction was transported by air force it self in its C-5 .it became clear that airpower is not merely fighter or bombers but also to have their own aerial fuel tanker like KC-135,electronic command centre like E3 AWACs. Use of bases in Turkey like Incerlik made it possible to attack Iraq simultaneously from north and south.

This Gulf war became an evolution in military affairs, the world has not seen a superpower in a major war ,the impact of technology was felt as it was felt in WW2 in the shape of radar so was global positioning system{GPS}.War basically reflects the strategic military culture of a nation and this air power became the symbol of that culture, a symbol of technology along with a dash of romance and chivalry. Aviators are a different breed 'I guess we are considered ourselves a different

[321] Citino*, Blitzkrieg,* p, 282.
[322] Ibid,,p,282.

breed of cat, right in the beginning. We flew through the air and other people walked on the ground:it was as simple as that' – famous American aviator General Spaatz[323].

The reliance of America on air power is also related to the development of computer in 1970's with the advent of Microsoft in 1977 the USA was ushered into a new era and this technology offered most to the aircraft and related weapons, Airpower is not just a bomber or hundreds of bombers it envisaged multiple functions ranging from electronic warfare to silence the surface to air missiles ,jamming, precision munitions guided weapons and certainly the improvement in aircraft it self where fly by wire and head up display technology became an integral part. Air power is also closely related to the American social pattern of eighties where poverty was touching unprecedented limits the ethnic and demographic balance of the country has been misbalanced and among all these the only ray of hope and pride was aircraft and air power apart from space program, the space shuttles flights are part of that image of air and space superiority. which is in fact just true .

Small Wars of Peace. America after the first gulf war took art in small wars of peace like in Somalia {1992} Bosnia {1991} and Kosovo {1999} although from military point of view there is nothing new in them except that they highlighted the tension among four services about the role which they had to play ,in Bosnia the USAF pressed for a role but debated by navy and army[324] where in classic term this was marines domain thus policy suffered because of inter service rivalry which is not a new thing at all .Still it was the air power in the shape of USAF A-10,USAN F-15 and Marines F-18 in Bosnia that conveyed the action. Kosovo was a slightly different affair as USAF lost a F-117 in the conflict and downing of its pilots captured a wide audience in home. This romance with air is not new and it glamorises the war itself, the downing of pilot is always different for media as compared to a foot soldier, the role of media also acted as catalyst in fermenting the image of American power through airpower. Further in 1992 the American armed forces underwent massive reduction with over half million being demobilised the economy was spending almost 400 billion $ on defence thus air power emerged as the logical answer as it was in early 1920s for the European powers to control the empire through air policing. The success of 1990 now became a set piece remedy for everything and thus in American culture instead of diplomacy the use of violence became the norm and employment of aircraft its tool, this shift towards coercion by the America was direct result of air power.

By the time 9/11 happened this strategic culture had taken its roots ,it is possible to satisfy people and policy through the use of air power as it almost eliminates the risk of casualties to American soldiers the only friction was among air powers within military, as it was distributed among the services. The first reaction of action to 9/11 was nothing other than the airpower, Pakistan was

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[323] James Tate, *The Army and its Air Corps, Army Policy Towards Aviation ,1918-1941*

{Honolulu,University Press Pacific,2003},p,1.

[324] Tony Mason, *Air Power A Centennial Appraisal*,[London,Brassey's,1997],pp,172-175.

coerced to agree to all seven conditions that Bush administration set or faced being bombed to stone age[325], this was airpower at its best it has coerced a state without firing any round.

Afghan war or capitulation of Taliban was in fact a repetition of Gulf War, in this case the Taliban did not had any anti aircraft weapon other than few stingers and few anti aircraft guns. The air campaign or rather bombing started on 7th October 2001, In the first 76 days of operations till 23 December 2001, when sustained air operations slowed, the US flew about 6,500 strike missions over Afghanistan. About 17,500 munitions were expended on over 120 fixed target complexes and over 400 vehicles and artillery guns. A total of 57 percent of the weapons delivered were precision guided. Navy carrier-based planes flew 4,900 of the 6,500 strike sorties or 75 percent of the total. The Air Force, flying 25 percent of the sorties, delivered 12,900 weapons, over 70 percent of the total delivered[326].

America does not rely upon preliminary airpower alone as a necessity to bring its enemies to their knees this was the verdict of Iraq invasion in 2003 where in a classical WW 2 pattern the armour and airpower roared together which is now described as 'Shock And Awe' shock in lethality and awesome in precision. The plan of General Tommy Franks called for surprise and the perception even among top military brass of USA that an 'air campaign' has to be there before the army campaign. The inter service rivalries also plays its role and that is not something peculiar to USA but it is almost similar in all military establishment only USA has one more in the form of marines. And this plan worked as it takes away the initiate from enemy whereas the air campaign demands a prolong time period and political events can reverse in that period. The war started with two F-117 dropping their two two thousand laser guided munitions right through the depth of Saddam Hussain German made concrete bunker and then throughout the next ten days it was a display of precision bombing where damage was done temporarily and not permanent ,the Centcom stated that they can drop bomb through a window without damaging the other room.

Enduring Freedom

is the code name of the ongoing operation of America against the terrorist who launched the successful and most lethal attack on American soil in its living memory and also in written history. Repercussions had to be there and they had to be quick and a lesson for all to know . 'We may be the only one left in this war, that's ok with me , we are Americans' President George Bush after the attacks commented[327],this much Bush was sure that is Osama Bin laden and his Al-Qaeeda behind this attack but he did not had the proof and neither he needed one at this time, he wanted him out dead or alive. Osama was in Afghanistan a land locked country ,barren, desolate about the size of Bush home state Texas. Afghan are to some historians the 12th lost tribe of Moses. Present day Afghanistan took birth as an after shoot of Great Game when British after suffering the most devastating defeat in military history when only one survived out of a force of 16000 in 1839 and later again suffering similar fate in 1879 finally relinquished their claim and demarcated the Indian subcontinent into Afghanistan and British India with a 'Durand Line' running on the crest of mountains, naturally tribes never accepted and neither respected it.

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[325] Pervez Musharraf, ,*In The Line Of Fire,A Memoir*,{London,Simon & Schuster,2006},pp,201-207.
[326] Operation Enduring Freedom <http;//www.wikipedia.org./> {accessed 3-16 March 2009}
[327] Bob Woodward, *Bush At War*,{ New York, Simon & Schuster,2002},p,81.

There are twelve major tribes who lived on the eastern border more famous are Afridis, Khattaks, Shinwaris, Mohmand, Mahsuds, Wazirs and Orakzai. They are pashtun by ethnicity and these pashtuns are about 20 million in number[328]{9 million in Afghanistan and other in Pakistan} the other major ethnic group of Afghanistan are the northern tribes who are Uzbeck and,Tajik they differ in appearance from pashtun as they have more mongol blood line, the binding factor is the religion Islam in which they are again having varying difference, the northerners having moderate view and pashtuns having extremist view point. Soviet Union tried to cultivate Marxist ideas in Afghanistan in 1979 and later invaded as well with over 85000 troops but retreated after eight years and having suffered 55000 casualties thanks mainly to American military aid to tenacious afghans and their brethren Arabs mujahedeen for whom it was a religious war the Jihad. After soviet departure the tribes fought among each other and finally in 1994 the student 'Taliban' revolution took place in which the veteran front line Mujahedeen who were now mainly spending life in an anarchic environments by teaching religion to orphans' of the war in the Pashtun tribes led by one eyed Mullah Omar of Kandhar and his close mujahedeen who almost all had lost either a leg or hand in Jihad started the drive and within three months they virtually had the half of Afghanistan under their control. And by 2001 were in control of whole except a valley under northern tribe.

Laden is probably the most romantic rebel, guerrilla, terrorist of all time, he seems to be reincarnation of 12th century Hasan bin Sabah and his assassins. Laden was twenty six and a billionaire[329] when he came to Peshawar from Saudi Arabia {the way Che Guerra went to Bolivia} and soon Osama became the most fierce fighter followed maniacally especially by his Arabs and other Mujahedeen's. After the war Osama soon became disillusioned with Afghan civil war and also of Saudi royal family and settled in Yemen from where he conducted a series of spectacular attacks on American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998 and than migrated to Afghanistan now under Taliban.

Mullah Omar demanded a proof from Bush later however Omar agreed to put Osama on an open court of international justice,both demand rejected by Bush. Between 11th September- 7th October 2001 the Central Command of America {Centcom} under whose area of operation Afghanistan falls carried out all appreciation and put forward three plans[330], the first one calls for destruction through air power only but finally the presence of ground troops and destruction using air power was approved.

Secretary of Defence Rumsfield admitted 'the hard fact was that America could not operate in Afghanistan without having allies'[331] The fact was Afghanistan was not a country at all, there were no target to be hit as in conventional states or as in Iraq. President Bush remarked 'whats the fun in hitting a $ 10 tent with $ 200 million worth cruise missile'[332]. There was no electricity, command and control centres, air defence weapons, telecommunication etc what little was there it was not affecting anything ,what was present on ground were 60,000 Taliban ,a thousand of Osma Arab warriors and potential million pasthuns in tribes all ready to wage another war.

A quick glance through history confirmed Americans that Afghanistan is not a push over. All neighbouring countries were coerced like Uzbekistan, Kazakhistan and Pakistan into giving bases

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[328] Angel Rabasa,Cheryl Bernard,Peter Chalk{Arlington,Rand,2004},pp,286-293

[329] Jason Burke,Al-Qaeeda The True Story of Radical Islam,London,Penguin,2004,pp 28-55

[330] Michael Delong,Inside Centcom,The Unvarnished Truth About the Wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, Washington,Regency,2004 ,pp,27-39

[331] Bob Woodward ,*Plan of Attack*, London, Simon & Schuster,pp,6-14,

[332] Ibid

and all other support for which American paid and wrote off old loans. This is where a new way of warfare in American military history took birth. instead of simply landing the troops in Afghanistan or bombing it into rubble the Americans paid the northern alliance money to wage war against the talibans with their{USA}aerial support. It was a unique war where the first Americans to land were Central intelligence Agency field operatives followed by the special operation forces whose main task was to guide the American bombers to the target with the help of laser guided equipment. By 23rd December 2001 Kabul was captured by the Northern Alliance and soon American forces started landing in Afghanistan in numbers. Taliban simply fled to their stronghold in Kandhar and took refuge in mountains with Americans following hot on their heels supported by British and Northern Tribes. The Taliban and the wanted Laden escaped through the mountains towards the east and into eastern tribes of Pakistan. Some pitched battles and operations took place like 'Operation Anaconda' and heavy bombing in Tora Bora mountains.

Pakistan was coerced into deploying its almost two corps along the border to stop the Talibans fleeing and from this point onwards an intricate and delicate situation took birth. Pakistan denied Americans right to cross into its territory in hot pursuit of Talibans and rather took it self to hunt them down but Americans were not satisfied with this arrangements yet they conceded to Pakistan, for an outsider it looks extremely enigmatic that the biggest super power on god's earth is unable to chase the talibans and hunt them down in primitive mountains. The answer lies in following.

Pakistan is a nuclear state with a population of over 150 million with 97% Muslim and over 3 million Christians[333], the biggest in an Islamic country, the country due to prolong military rules have become a nursery of radical Islam and ongoing guerrilla movement in Kashmir against India finally resulted in Indians amassing their forces on border in 2002 for a showdown with Pakistan. As soon as American bombing campaign started in Afghanistan there were wide spread mass demonstration in Pakistan although not as violent as expected. USA had the following option ,either to launch a ground operation from Afghanistan onto the tribal area and in ensuing expect high casualties, launch an air campaign for a prolong period during which the population might revolt against the existing friendly regime and finally USA could have allowed the India to launch the attack from the east and simultaneously itself launch attack on the tribes. But all these had catastrophic consequences thus USA adopted the same strategy as they adopted in initial routing of Taliban, they simply paid Pakistan to wage their war and simultaneously put the tribal area under aerial observation and conducted joint operations with Pakistan army. Americans trained Pakistan army into night vision fighting by providing helicopters {almost 40 Bell 412 and 20 cobras[334]} and later training them in USA as well. New militia force was raised with American funding, intelligence was also shared.

Between 2002-2006 almost three hundred hard core Al-Qaeeda operatives have been arrested in Pakistan and over 80% of all wanted persons have been arrested in Pakistan by USA but all this has come at a very high price. From 2002 the attacks on Christian community started increasing in which church and schools were targeted, all foreign national became a target of suicide or kidnap attempts. In June 2002 eleven French engineers were killed in suicide attack and later American journalist Daniel pearl was butchered, Pakistan army itself became target of suicide attacks and one three star general has been killed and other has been injured apart from over 200 other all ranks killed in various attacks. A series of bomb and suicide attacks virtually paralysed the country and brought it to anarchy. The public support especially in tribal areas started increasing for the talibans, this was mainly due to the religious ties and also as an reaction of American operation in the tribal area, the Americans at

[333] ,Angel, Muslim World,pp 254-256

[334] Azam and Cheema,History of Pakistan Army Aviation, Islamabad, Army Press,2008, pp 348-378

times as in 2003 Bajour area operated and fired missile on suspected hideouts of Taliban in Pakistan territory which killed over a dozen civilian population.

America thus found itself in a catch-22 situation ,if they attack on suspected habitats in tribal area than they can face high casualties of their own troops and a possible repercussion and public lashing from Pakistan and if it goes unchecked than a coup or anarchy can take place, on the other hand if they simply allow Pakistan Army to carry out operation inside Pakistan on American intelligence than the results might take time, one additional factor was that almost all Al-Qaeeda members got underground in the major cities. Thus America opted for a combination of both ,it does not operate within Pakistan territory yet it violates airspace as and when required and it also allows Pakistan army and intelligence agencies to operate at their own.

Winning Heart and Mind. In October 2005 the Northern Areas of Pakistan were hit by a massive earthquake and Americans led the way in the biggest helicopter rescue relief operation in the history 'Operation Lifeline'[335]. In same year the Swat area of Pakistan underwent a radical change when people started an armed campaign to have Islamic laws in their territory and called themselves as 'Taliban' soon it became a full fledged armed resistance and employed a corps of Pakistan army.In December 2007 the Pakistan underwent a shock when twice premier Benazir Bhutto was assassinated in a political rally by hardliners,for next three days there was no writ of state in Pakistan,later in elections the ex army chief and president Musharraf was defeated in parliamentary elections and soon democracy return to power. This presented new dilemma to USA as although it champions democracy yet it believes in rhetoric in this aspect as far as Islamic states are concerned because in true democratic state it is the will of people that has to be prevailed and people are generally against American policy .In 2009 the Pakistan made a compromise with the Talibans in the Swat area which is highly criticised in America.

Conclusion. America's war against terror has become a war against tribes of Pashtuns of HinduKush and apparently there seems to be no immediate remedy for this for the reason that there is a difference between extremism and terrorism as far as Islamic ideology is concerned. Pakistan the key player in this war has its own limitations, and Pakistan does affect the region's stability in a more drastic manner than the Iraq or Iran. The Chinese factor will play a key role and USA might have to face the Chinese if it decides to carry out any intervention in Pakistan. On the other hand the present state of affairs is not satisfactory from American perspective who desires and demand a more aggressive policy from Pakistan towards the Talibans. The Pakistan dilemma is that it cannot undertake operation against an ideology that is wide spreading along its western borders, it is already engaged in such counter insurgency operation since December 2001 and have suffered heavy casualties in tribal areas. Democracy has its own logics and one must respect them. Pakistan is now most volatile area in world ,the recent terrorist attacks in Mumbai and Lahore have again brought the fact into light that Al-Qaeeda and its sympathisers simply want a confrontation in the region, their aim and goal is that there should be a war involving Pakistan and they know any war now will be a nuclear one and they hope by this they will bring anarchy into Pakistan as war has brought it in Afghanistan and thus they will have more wider audience for their call. One major answer to all this is to rebuild Pakistan and all that money which America will be spending in any future conflict in the region should now be spend on economic and educational uplift, rather than spending later on rebuilding and most importantly the democratic institutions in Pakistan shall be protected at all cost

[335] Ibid,pp 400-412

USA does not seem to be over reliant on airpower rather it has a flexible approach .The military system on land has remained unchanged in last three hundred years with fire power being the dominant factor and before air power it was artillery and now the same action is done through the use of air craft. Neither USA seems to be overly relying upon strategic bombing of WW2 or Vietnam pattern. In the post cold war conflicts USA has been unpredictable in the tactics and strategy ,and this is the beauty of any military organisation. They were the first one to conduct a prolong air campaign in Gulf War and every one thought that this is now standard but they achieved surprised in Iraqi invasion by not adopting it in 2003 and there by achieving surprise. The reality of our time in term of warfare is in third dimension at least for those nations that can afford its cost and apparently it is USA at the moment which can afford it, others like Saudi Arabia or Korea can buy the American aircraft but they even cannot maintain them without American assistance thus America has a virtual monopoly over the third dimension and it depends upon them how well they use it, the world does not have any answer or remedy to this.

The wars that America have fought since end of Cold-War could all have been finished off with the airpower although it would have taken a little bit more time had that option being followed but the relationship between policy and war at times makes it necessary that airpower should be utilised and at others {Iraq 2003}it spelled that it should be finished off quickly before world opinion turns other way. Airpower has limitation ,it is never used in full, it is bounded by ethics of warfare therefore the concept of avoiding civilian and collateral causalities generally turns airpower into a prolong saga, the weather is the biggest hurdle and unavoidable foe that has yet to be overcome. The new face of airpower in future involves remote control unmanned aerial vehicles 'Predator' which are controlled from thousand of miles and has removed 'fog of war' for the commanders.

The primary aim of any war was and will remain the destruction of enemy armed forces, its command and control, logistics and morale .For centuries humans were looking for suitable weapon that can destroy all of them simultaneously but to no avail, however with present and forthcoming aerial armada of America along with its superior technology ,precision guided munitions and its desire to act as an imperial power protecting its commercial and ideological interest on global scale, there is no alternative than the air power and Americans have very rightly used it since 1990 because it is instant, cost effective, safe and lethal.

'All men dream but not equally, those who dream by night in the dusty recesses of their minds wake in the day to find that it was vanity, but the dreamers of the day are dangerous men, for they may act their dreams with open eyes, to make it possible.'

Colonel T.E. Lawrence *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, p. 7

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Lohbeck,Kurt. Holy *War,Unholy Victory Eyewitness to the CIA's Secret War in Afghanistan.* Washington: Regnery,1993. Writes; Its geographical wealth has made Afghanistan a cross road of civilisation{introduction} Tribesmen proved to be a greater obstacle than Golden horde had expected , they would raid a regiment of the great army and then disappeared into the shelter of the difficult and rugged mountain, the Great Khan had never encountered such a audacity and prowess {p.3}. USA embassy in Islamabad was burnt to the ground in 1979{p.8}By 1963, Afghan border with Pakistan was had been closed for two years {p.27}[liii]

Ahmed Rashid ,*Taliban, Militant Islam , Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia* {London: Yale ,2000}. Writes I had been reporting on the Taliban phenomenon making more than a dosen trips to taliban strongholds in Kandahar {p.7} There is now an entire factory of myths and stories to explain, how Mullah Omar mobilised a small group of Taliban against the rapacious Kandahar war lords…raping of two teenage girls {p.25}[liv].

Thomas Rutling''Loya Paktia's Insurgency''in, *Decoding the New Taliban, insight from the field*, ed. Antonio Giustozzi {New York: Columbia,2009}. Writes Loya Paktia represents a quasi-autonomous region, the three constituent province Paktia, Paktika and Khost are one of the three major Pashtun provinces of the country {p.57}.[lv]

Doug Stanton,. *Horse Soldiers The extraordinary story of a band of U.S Soldiers who rode to victory in Afghanistan.* NewYork: Scriber,2009. Writes about Taliban, these guys{Taliban} do not surrender, they fought to the death{p.2}.[lvi]

Sean Maloney,. *Confronting the Chaos, a rogue military historian returns to Afghanistan*.Annapolis: Naval Institute.2009. his book covers the war in Afghanistan from 2003-4, he states a statement of Osama Bin Laden ' Why are your government especially those of Britain, France, Italy, Canada, Germany and Australia allying themselves with America in the attack against us in

Afghanistan'.{p.xiii}.[lvii] Provincial reconstruction team PRT is a holly new weapon in the counter insurgency war against the Taliban and its supporters. Essentially there was a proxy war where by USA supported the Northern Alliance to take down the Taliban shield while another campaign superimposed on the proxy war hunted out Al Qaeda leadership, these operations continued into 2002. The next phase which lasted from 2002-end 2003.

Carter Malkasian, *War Comes to Garmser Thirty Years of Conflict on the Afghan Frontier* .NewYork: Oxford,2013. The point of study of one district in Afghanistan is to help answer whether the USA and its allies were bound to be defeated in Afghanistan…should the USA heeded the warnings of history and stayed out {p.xxi} . in 1972, Jeffery Race published *War Comes to Long An,* a first person analysis of the war in Vietnam, he lived in Long An for four years conducting research , that became his doctoral dissertation, the book he published is cited as classic in 2006 US Army /Marine Corps counter insurgency field manual. In similar situation, Carter Malkasian came to Garmser district in 2009 as political officer, he spent two years. it was decided that Afghanistan would be a centralised democracy with elections , small professional army and a western legal system. Violence re-appeared in 2005 and 2006. The new counter insurgency manual was published in 2008, by mid 2011, 100,00 American, 10,000 UK troops were in the country, since 2001, 17000 has been killed {14,700 USA and 2125 UK} over 500$ billion has been spent, polls found out that as many as 70% Americans wants to get out of Unwinnable war.

Hamid Mustafa and Farrall Leah. ***The Arabs at war in Afghanistan***. London: Hurst & Company,2015.

In September 1996, Mullah Omar had declared Afghanistan as an Islamic Emirates, in august 1996, Osama had issued declaration of Jihad against USA, there was an Arab Village at Jalaabad. {p.1}. the first Arab fighter group was formed at Khost {p.2}.[lviii]

Professor **Lieutenant General Peter Leahy** who was chief of army staff in Australian Army[2002-2008} and now at University of Canberra writes in the preface of the book ' today our soldier face the descendants of the hardy Afghan warriors ona field of battle that has changed little over the centuries…provides valuable insight into the conduct of today's campaign, which can help deliver us from the perils of repeating the mistakes'.[lix]**Bing West** in .*The Wrong War Grit, strategy and the way out of Afghanistan*.NewYork:Random,2011, writes about the American troops in Afghanistan, the opening phrase is about a young man in grey burqa peeping out from a mosque ' did anyone shoot at the mosque? Negative, a fire leader yelled 'we know the rules, we are not fucking stupid'. The leadership of Al Qaeda and Taliban settled into the tribal frontier lands of western Pakistan, Pakistan army played double game, on one hand it accepted billions of dollars and permitted strikes by American unmanned aircraft on Al Qaeda leadership , on other hand it shielded other terrorist groups and leaders as a ledge in case the Taliban again seized the power. In 2002, Karzai was supported as President , in 2003 USA invaded Iraq thus in 2003, emphasis was on chasing Al Qaeda leader , where as in 2004-2005, USA turned to counter insurgency in Afghanistan , three different military units were attacking the insurgents, first was special operations forces{SOF} which focused on guerrilla leaders, financers, improvised explosive device makers{IED}and safe houses operators. Second was the airpower, third was the foot soldier {p.138}.[lx]

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Clash of Valleys in Asian Century

Pakistan and India represents two distinct riparian civilisations that flourished around River Indus and River Ganges almost 4000 years ago. In last 2000 thousand years these two valleys have been at a perpetual state of animosity. Since 1947 when both countries gain independence both have fought conventional wars in 1947, 1965, 1971, and non-conventional conflict that erupted in Siachen in 1982 is still going on. Both attained nuclear capabilities in 1998 and quickly went to test world's nerves over Kargil. Since then an uneasy peace is prevailing between two nations.

This paper looks at the relations between these nations in a Historical- Geographical perspective and it is from 'Current of History' that a logical path based upon pure reason for Asian Century is predicted.

Geography

India have three main riparian areas running north to south, moving from west to the east the first one is the **River Indus**[336] which is made up of almost seven major rivers before it falls into the Arabian sea. It takes its origin at an elevation of 22000 feet from the Lake Mansowar in Tibet known as Sin-ka-bab {Lion's mouth}. Indus Valley is 950 miles long and 700 miles wide, its slope is steep 1:7,000 nearly double of the Egyptian civilization '4500 years ago human development reached a striking peak in the Indus Valley cities of Harappa and Mohenjo Daro'[337]. The basic consideration to be kept in mind is that all those rivers whose water falls into river Indus are part of Indus Valley, thus River Gilgit, Kabul, Kurram, Kaitu, Tochi, Shaktu, Gomal and Zhob all are integral part of Indus Valley and they run in a west-east direction.

Apart from Indus there are over a dozen of rivers which take birth in Himalayas the abode of snow, the first one after Indus is Jhelum followed by Chenab ,Ravi, Sutlej, Beas, Jumna and Ganges, however there is one mark difference among them apart from the Jumna and the Ganges all the other rivers flow in a north-south direction and joins the Indus and forms Eastern Indus Valley where as the **Jumna** and **Ganges** flow in a west-east direction. Jumna joins in with Ganges, Ganges originates at an elevation of 14000 feet from a glacier and is initially called Baghiretti and comes out of mountains at a place called Suki , it is at Allahabad that Jumna joins it after Ganges have covered a distance of 670 miles, Ganges flow for another 140 miles when at Benares it is joined by Gumti and from here Ganges flow towards the east and mix with Brahmaputra and they both form Sunderbans delta, Ganges total length is 1500 miles and it is navigable for 1300 miles. Brahmaputra is another important river as it defines the India's eastern frontier it originates from the same source as that of Indus and Sutlej ,it flows in a easterly direction for almost 800 miles where it is known as Sanpu River, it takes southern route near Assam under the name of Dihang river and ultimately joins with Ganges, its total length is 1,750 miles {including 800 miles as Sanpu}[338]. Thus Indus Valley has no physical link with Ganges or Brahmaputra Valley but Ganges & Brahmaputra culture is hybrid in nature.

Emergence of Strategic Military Cultures, Indus & Ganges Valley

There is always a watershed mark in history the very first and till to date most authentic water mark in relation to sub continental past is Alexander The Great who in 323 BC. invaded India, in fact almost all historical inquiries regarding India starts with Alexander the Great for the reason that Indians were poor in recording their history[339]. When Alexander was knocking on Indus Valley's head in 327[340] B.C. Indus Civilisation had no unity other than they all dwell on the banks of River Indus but their valiant stand against Alexander the Great becomes a historical entity that stands valid even today.

It will remain a mystery of the history as to the actual cause of the Alexander's troops mutiny near Lahore ,was it due to the fatigue as written or was it due to the incessant casualties being

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[336] Rob Bowden, *Celebrating Rivers Through Time, Settlement of Indus River* , {Heinmen,Chicago,2005} pp-5-6

[337] Cambridge *Encyclopaedia of South Asia* ,1982, p-9

[338] Duncan,Higgin Brothers *,Geography of India*, George,Madras,1880,pp-1-5,also see James Burghess *Geography of India for the use of higher classes in schools and private students*, ,{Bombay,Nelson,1871}pp-5-6. Sir Alexander Cunningham *Ancient Geography of India including the campaigns of Alexander and the travels of Hwen-Thsang* {Trubner & Co,London,!871) pp-9,11,38,220,207,264.

[339] Jawaharlal Nehru *, The Discovery of India*, [John Day ,New York,1945],p-92

[340] Alexander the Great sacked Turkey in 334-333 BC,Phoenicians in 333-332,Persepolis in 331-330 and pushed into Arachosia{Afghanistan} & Sogdia{Uzbekistan}in 329-328 BC,he was in vicinity of Kabul in 327 BC.

suffered in the hands of the native tribes and warriors but the demoralising effect of constant casualties cannot be over ruled. Alexander did announced his intention to withdraw and as Arrian has put it the only defeat he suffered was in the hands of his own[341]. Hard fact remains that all fighting took place in the present day Pakistan frontiers. [342]

Alexander's campaigns in India written by his own countrymen brought forward certain facts which in a way corroborates the early oral history of the India which primarily was the history of the Indus, The fighting character of the region is martial in nature as dictated by the constant battles offered to Alexander despite very high rate of attrition. It confirms the existence of the martial civilization on River Indus, unfortunately Ganges does not enjoy the same reputation because it never had the opportunity to prove its mettle. It is this tag which haunts it even today.

Chapter I. International Relations, Terms and Concepts

23rd March 2014,

International relations is clearly not a subject in the ordinary sense of the word….it si not a single subject but a blend of subjects, law, history, economics, political science and geography [343].Theory, is derived from Greek 'to look out' at , or ' to watch'.[344] There are many theories of International relations but broadly they can be classified as Normal or Normative Theory, the Realist Theory given by Morganthau in 1952 describes 'interest as power' which in this means national interest but it is equally difficult to describe what do national interest stands for, Morgenthau , himself goes to explain that National Interest have two elements, one that is logically required and in that sense necessary and the one that is variable and determined by circumstances.[345]**Realism** . The notion of realism refers to a tradition of thought with in the area of International Relation theory, credit is given to Hans Morgenthau 'states of the world exists in an anarchical and rather hostile international environment. In order to survive and prosper in such an environment, it is in best interest of state to develop and expand its power as best it can[346].**Pacifism .** war is never justified from a moral point of view, it lies in the work of Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam{1466 -1536}, he wrote The Compalint of Peace , argued that christains ought never make war among each other neither on infidels, however in his Instructions to a Christian Prince, he concedes that there may be occasions when war against infidels is justified.[347]**Influence**. Ability of one actor to alter the preference and behaviour of another actor without use of violence.**Authority**. Capacity to command obedience without compulsion or threat of co-ercion.

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[341] Arrian *The Campaigns of Alexander* translated by Aubrey de Selincourt { Penguin,1971},p-194,p-292.
[342] Ibid,p-5,9,16
[343] N.D.Palmer & H.C.Perkins, ed, *International Affairs, the World community in Transition*, second edition, {Stevens & Sons, London, 1957} , p-XII.
[344] Abdul Said,ed,*Theory of International Relations the crisis of Relevance*{Prentice Hall, New Jersey 1968} p-43
[345] Stanely Hoffman, ed, *Contemporary Theory in International Relations* { Prentice, new Jersey, 1960} p,32, 73.
[346] *The Morality of War,* A Reader. Ed, David Kinsella & Craig L.Carr { Viva, Delhi,2008, Indian Edition}p.13
[347] *The Morality of War,* A Reader. Ed, David Kinsella & Craig L.Carr { Viva, Delhi,2008, Indian Edition}p.33.

Power. Most common form of coercive influence, ability to determine outcome, ability to prevail in conflict and to overcome obstacles. 'power' is based upon perception. It can be classified as meta power, soft power and hard power. Elements of power are potential power and actual power. Tangibles in a power are population, territory, natural resources, military capacity. **Balance of Power Theory**; states , 'peace and global stability are best achieved through and maintained through a fundamental equilibrium of power among actors'[348]. **Hegemonic Power Theory** contest this by stating that world peace and economic prosperity are a by product of a hegemonic ally imposed structure.**Force**. Implicit or explicit use , or threat of use, the most violent and costly method of bringing about political influence, because it depends upon military and political power to achieve goals . Collective security. Seek to deter aggression by promising collective retaliation against any community members being aggressed.

Empirical. It stands for factual

Normative. It stands for value

Ethics. Critical analysis of moral values and their application. Word ethic is derived from Greek word ethos, thus ethics is the examination, justification and critical analysis of morality. Political morality revolves around impartiality, self enforcing and universal . human actions are thus judged upon morality, legality and voluntary. Moral scepticism, Prudence and communitarianism are all ethical traditions. **Prudence**. Practical wisdom, virtue of selecting and implementing policies in the light of alternative moral action 'practical judgement over moral values'.**Communitarianism**. A tradition that assumes that states are morally legitimate and subject to widely accepted legal and moral norms known as common morality. The political behaviour of states should be guided and judged by norms of International Morality. **Consequentialism.** Ethical behaviour must be judged primarily by outcomes. Greatest good for the greatest number of people.

Moral Absolutism. An ethical tradition that insists on strict adherence to moral rules regardless of consequences.**Moral Scepticism**. Belief that moral principles do not apply direct to international relations. Vocabulary of morals and ethics is inadequate to discuss or test foreign policies of a state, remarked Dean Acheson.[349] **Moralism**, when problems are over simplified and when moral values are applied as if issue were either good or bad. **Morality** word comes from Latin 'mores' meaning customs and common usage based upon shared values, value of right and wrong, good and bad.

Cosmopolitanism. An ethical tradition that assumes that persons, not states are morally significant in global society, Humanitarian invention is thus morally permissible.**Doctrine of Cultural Relativism**. Belief that since world is composed of many different cultures with its own moral norms, there is no universal binding morality.

Foreign policy. Explicit or implicit actions of a governmental institutions officials designated to promote national interest beyond a country's territorial boundaries. Foreign policy must start with security, remarked Kissinger. Decision making process in foreign policy is either based upon Rational Actor Model or Organisational Power Model. President Musharraf when pledged the support of Pakistan and its resources to America after 9/11, it was rational actor model; however when Pakistan sent its troops to Gulf war in 1990, then it was Organisational Process Model. Bureaucratic bargaining

[348] Mark Armstatz, *International Conflict & Co-operation, an introduction to world Politics*, {Mcgraw Hill, London,1999},p-142.
[349] Mark Armstatz, *International Conflict & Co-operation, an introduction to world Politics*, {Mcgraw Hill, London,1999},p-163.

model is another model but it is not exclusive for foreign policy, in it various governmental organisation bargain among themselves. **Belief system**. A collection of core values, beliefs and images that make up an individual's world view.

Cognitive Dissonance. Psychological conflict between existing beliefs and newly acquired information. **Misperception**. Distortions of reality caused by such factors as humans biases, personal values and ideological presupposition. **Geopolitics**. The field that examines the inter relationship of geography, national power and foreign policy. One can add history because geography is history in motion. **Democratic peace thesis**. Democracies or democratic nations do ot fight against each other.

International Justice is based upon procedural justice which requires strict and impartial adherence to rules and procedures. Distributive justice on the other ahnd is associated with the achievement of a particular outcome, it requires fair and equitable distribution of goods and resources.

International Law. It is the law among the states and not over them, name for the body of customary and conventional rules which are considered legally binding by civilised states in their intercourse with each other'. Thee are three school of thoughts among international law, one is naturalist {Grotius} , second is Positivist and third is a group which adheres to both groups.

Republic . Man by nature is timid and peaceful and at the least danger his first reaction is to flee, he only fights through the force of his habit and experience. Honour, interest, prejudice, and vengeance all those passions which make him brave. **Aristotle** kept the war separate from political philosophy, **Plato** declares that military science and theory of warfare form a part of art of citizenship referring here to skill in the use of arms[350]. Plato was born in Athens, he was student of Socrates and teacher of Aristotle, his classical work is Republic, which is the base of morality and everything related to it. Morality to Plato was a key factor of the human life and the debate about what is good and what is bad starts form here, Plato did not reached any conclusion in is dialogues other than that morality si something which only an individual can judge what is wrong and what is right. ' Since it is the expressed opinion that morality is one of those paramount good things which are worth having not just for the consequences but also and especially for themselves… so it is not enough just to demonstrate that morality is better than immorality, show us why one of them, in and of itself makes anyone who possess it good'.[351] For Plato the education was the most important thing, at that time the children were imparted physical and cultural studies at Athens and in Plato's view the cultural education takes precedence over physical

History is paramount in understanding the warfare, it causes are numerable, ranging from self-defence, defence of property to ideologies; although certain thinkers tend to differ for instance **Hugo Grotius** {1583-1645} considers those wars as just which are undertaken against those who have committed sin against the nature[352] on the other hand . Grotius is regarded as father of internatiopanl law, he wrote 'On the laws of war and peace ' in 1625. He stressed upon that states should be treated as individuals and he accepted 'natural Law' as 'right reason' as the primary basis for determining rules for the rightful conduct of state; he argued for freedom of seas.

Alberto Gentilli {1552-1608} is of the opinion that religion is an individual matter and as such religious wars cannot be justified. Gentilli also saw international affairs from a secular point of

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[350] M.G. Forsyth edited, *The theory of International Affairs selected texts from Gentilli to Traitschke* {George Allen, London, 1970}, p - 18

[351] Plato *Republic*, a new translation by Robert Waterfield, { Barnes & Noble, NY, 1993},p-56

[352] Ibid, p-73.

view instead of religious, ' Let theologians keep silent about matters outside their province'. Gentilli wrote about 'International Law as applied to War', he primarily contends that no previous law on warfare has been given earlier thus there is a need to have them. The main issue is that all participants waging a war considers themselves justified, thus it is difficult to lay the blame on any one individual for waging the war. This simple equation becomes monstrous when religion is included as the main cause of waging war, whereas for non-religious issues the way out or compromise can be made by highlighting the logic but even the logic fails in matter of religion. Whether it is just to wage war for the sake of religion? remains the cardinal point of Gentilli and he gives his judgement as religion being an individual act and as such cannot be justified as the just cause of waging war. Hugo Grotius differ on the ground as ' Not on grounds of right in battle formed but rather with the sword do men seek to enforce their claim'. And his classic is 'when I am in arms , am I to think of laws'. Grotius was of the opinion that history is important in understanding the laws of nature[353], as it supplied both illustration as well as the judgement. The legality of war in his opinion was based upon its justification ' those wars are unjustified which are taken without any cause' and as regarding the causes , he differs not from the logic ' first, defence of self and property'.

Another philosophical view as expressed by **Emmerich De Vatel[354]** {1714-1767} revolves around two principles, first one declares that ***'regular war as regards its effects must be accounted just on both sides***' and second principles govern ***whatever is permitted to one because of the state of war is also permissible to the other*** '[355]. Laws of nation is a famous work of Vatel and it has following segments , the natural law, the law taught by nature to all animals. Civil law is the one which is established by the people themselves and lastly Laws of nation which are laws established by nations. Vatel observation is made upon the Roman's Insgentium which were given by Emperor Justinas. Hobbs also contemplated on the issue and agreed that 'natural law for men and natural law for nation' principals of both are same. Since nations are composed of men who are by nature free and independent and who before the establishment of civil society lived together in the state of nature, such nations or sovereign states must be regarded as so many free persons living together in the state of nature.[356]

Danger and death are results of state of nature, there is no war between the man it is only between the states[357] wrote **Jean-Jacques Rousseau** {1712-1778, he also author social contract}. Man by nature was peaceful and timid to him, at the least danger , his first action is to flee, he only fights through the force of his habit and experience. However interest, prejudice, and vengeance all these passions which make him brave danger and death are remote from him in the state of nature[358]

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[353] Abdul Said, ed, *Theory of International Relations, the crisis of Relevance* {Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1968} p-62.

[354] Vatel ,a swiss wrote Laws of Nation and introduced the term Balance of Power.

[355] M.G. Forsyth edited, *The theory of International Affairs selected texts from Gentilli to Traitschke* {George Allen, London, 1970}, p 110.

[356] Theory of international Affairs selected texts, p-103.

[357] M.G. Forsyth edited, *The theory of International Affairs selected texts from Gentilli to Traitschke* {George Allen, London, 1970}, pp, 167-170.

[358] Ibid, p-170

State & Nation

State is defined as 'a body of people occupying a definite territory and political organised under one government'[359] . Elements that make a state includes an idea, culture, history and ideology. Physical elements and institutions. State can be classified as **strong, weak, failed, coherent, and multinational, multi-state** state depending upon the legitimacy, capacity, writ, civic services and political institutions .

Whereas **nation** is defined as ' any aggregation of people having like institutions and customs and a sense of social homogeneity and mutual interest'**. Ernest Renam** stated in 1882 that that it is not only the common language but the fact that having accomplished great things in past the wish to accomplish the great things in future constitutes a nation. ' It is not only the common language but the fact that having accomplished great things in past, the wish to accomplish the great things in future constitutes a nation'.[360] Nationalism is a belief that world's people are divided into nations and that each of these nations has the right of self determination.

Treaty of Westphalia {1648} recognised the undisputed sovereignty of secular rulers, it is the ruler right to determine state's religion, treaty further recognised a state dominance and sovereignty. In the same time period India, Emperor Akbar was already assuming the same power and adopted the spirit of Westphalia in totality, although he was not present and it is doubtful if he ever heard the name Westphalia. He introduced a state religion in which he collected the best and non controversial acts and beliefs of all his subjects{Hindu, Muslim, Buddhist and Christian } with himself as the Emperor having a final word in any dispute.

Thus a state may be composed of many nations, but Hans Morgentau differs as in his opinion there cannot be many nations composing one state rather' One Nation , one state'[361]. There are categories of states like, strong state, weak state, failed state, coherent state, multinational state{state comprising of two or more nations}, multi state nation { nation whose members live in two or more states}[362]. ' A nation is a body of men inhabiting a definite territory who normally are driven from different races but possess a common stock of thoughts and feelings acquired and transmitted during course of a common history; who on the whole and in the main , through more in the past than in the present include in that common stock a common religious belief, who generally and a as a rule use a common language as the vehicle of their thoughts and feelings. Who besides common thoughts and feelings also cherish a common will and accordingly form or lead to form a separate state for the expression and realisation of that will'.[363] This concept is bit further from what Ernest Renam stated in 1882, at Sorbonne

Sovereignty

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[359] Abdul Said, ed, Theory of International Relations, the crisis of Relevance {Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1968} p-2.

[360] N.D.Palmer & H.C.Perkins, ed, *International Affairs, the World community in Transition*, second edition, {Stevens & Sons, London, 1957},p-13.

[361] Abdul Said, ed, Theory of International Relations, the crisis of Relevance {Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1968} p-13. Stated by Hans Morgentahu.

[362] Mark Armstatz, *International Conflict & Co-operation, an introduction to world Politics*, {Mcgraw Hill, London,1999},p-31.

[363] Ernest Baker in 1927, Natioanl Character and factors in its formations, N.D.Palmer & H.C.Perkins, ed, *International Affairs, the World community in Transition*, second edition, {Stevens & Sons, London, 1957}, p-13.

No word is used in political science with greater meanings of word than sovereignty, 'few political conceptions have been the subject of so much discussion among us is last 100 years' Professor Methwin,[364]. It is often described as the supreme power over citizens and subjects without restrained by law.[365] Stated by **Jean Bodwin** {1530-1596}. To Grotius , it is ' that power whose acts ….may not be made void by the acts of any other human will'.[366]

Ideology

'It is a cluster of ideas about life, society or government which originate in most cases as consciously advocated or dogmatically asserted. Social, political or religious slogans or battles cries and which through continuous usages and preachment gradually becomes the characteristics beliefs or dogmas of a particular group, party or nationality'[367].

Morale on the other hand is defined, again it has many variations, ' is a thing made up of loyality, courage, faith, dignity, sentiments for the known, fear and dislike of the unknown and self interest….healthy frame of mind, characterised by fidelity to a cause'.[368]

War

Thus one of the major difference in understanding the N**ature of War** is in its justification and there are always two opinions that exists that is why nations or humans go to war. On the other hand apart from religious causes there are boundaries and Frontier disputes which have compelled the nations to exercise this option. This kind of disputes can be classified in four broad categories. In the first one there existed no regional boundary, neither delimited or demarcated and no mutually agreed treaty as well. The Anglo-Afghan wars 1839-1872 are the examples where there was no boundary between India and Afghanistan. It was finally agreed upon in 1893 under Durand Line agreement. In next category , there existed a boundary a defacto frontier either delimited in a treaty or map or even demarcated on the ground but the entire legitimacy is challenged by one party or the other. The Third Anglo-Afghan war of 1919 is a classic example of this kind . Pakistan – India war of 1965 over Rann of kutch is another glaring example of this kind. In the third category there exists two rival delimitations sometimes deriving from different treaties, China – India conflict of 1962 falls in this category . last is the type where a mutually agreed delimitation exists but dispute is about the demarcation on ground.[369] Frontier dispute between Saudi Arabia and Abu Dhabi , it was initially agreed upon between the Ottoman and Britain in 1914 but later Ibn Saud rejected it and issue erupted in 1949.

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[364] Abdul Said, ed, *Theory of International Relations, the crisis of Relevance* {Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1968},p-25 also see Mark R.Armstutz Anthony, *International conflict & cooperation, An introduction to World Politics* {Mcgraw Hill, London, 1999} p- 28

[365] Mark Armstutz, International Conflict & Co-operation, an introduction to world Politics, {Mcgraw Hill, London,1999}, p-28 also see Abdul Said, ed, Theory of International Relations, the crisis of Relevance {Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1968},p-25

[366] N.D.Palmer & H.C.Perkins, ed, *International Affairs, the World community in Transition*, second edition, {Stevens & Sons, London, 1957}, p-26.

[367] Abdul Said, ed, Theory of International Relations, the crisis of Relevance {Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1968},p-82 as stated by Deotutt Le Tracy {1754-1836}

[368] H.E.Carr, *Twenty Years Crisis {*London, 1946}, p-108.

[369] Evan Luard Edited, The International Regulations of Frontier Dispute {Thames, London, 1970} p-16.

Boundary Disputes

The boundary disputes that have arisen in modern world can be divided into five distinct categories, First where there exists no recognised boundary whether delimited or demarcated and no mutually agreed treaty exists. Secondly, there exists a defacto frontier either delimited in a treaty or map or even demarcated on the ground but the entire legitimacy is challenged by one party or the other. Third. There are those where there exists two rival delimitations sometimes deriving from different treaties. Lastly, a mutually agreed delimitation of the frontier exists but dispute is about demarcation on ground.[370]

There are five methods through which a **nation can acquire territory** they are, occupation, prescription which is form of occupation which may occur through possession and administration for a certain length of time, cessation again is one method of acquiring territory, however if the shape of frontier is changed due to natural process than again territory can be acquired this is known as accretion and last but not the least is the subjugation.

Methods to resolve a conflict are, war, bilateral negotiating, good offices {efforts of third party to resolve issue}, mediation which is request by both parties to a third party, arbitration and finally judicial settlement[371].

Laws of Nation.

There are three types of such laws, first is known as Voluntary Law, second is called Conventional law and customary law is the third category[372]. As regarding the war, the consensus is 'Regular war as regards its effects must be accounted just on both sides' and 'Whatever is permitted to one because of state of war is also permitted to the other'.[373]

There exits two **models of state hood** , one known as **Machiavellian model** in which the sole aim is to enhance the power of a state irrespective of morality the second is known as **Statesman model** in which due regard is given to the law, justice and fact that one course which affects the good of majority is the most suitable.[374]

Balance of Power , Henry Brougham {1778-1868} wrote an esasy ' constitution subscribing among neighbouring states more a less connected with one another by virtue of which no one among them can injure the independence or the essential rights of another without meeting with effectual resistance on some side and consequentially exposing itself to danger'.[375]

Forms of National Power. Geography

Military power, Economic power and power over opinion are the various forms of national power, and geography is the element of national power[376]. History is geography in motion was the

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[370] Frontier Dispute, p-16.
[371] Evan Luard Edited, *The International Regulations of Frontier Dispute* {Thames, London, 1970}, pp, 24-29
[372] Pierre Renovvin & Jean Baptiste Duroselle translated by Mary Ilford ' Introduction to the History of international Relations { Praegon, London, 1967} p-110
[373] Pierre Renovvin & Jean Baptiste Duroselle translated by Mary Ilford ' *Introduction to the History of international Relations* { Praegon, London, 1967} p-112.
[374] Stanely Hoffman, ed, *Contemporary Theory in International Relations* { Prentice, new Jersey, 1960} pp, 15-16
[375] Pierre Renovvin & Jean Baptiste Duroselle translated by Mary Ilford ' *Introduction to the History of international Relations* { Praegon, London, 1967}, p-281.
[376] H.E.Carr, *Twenty Years Crisis {*London, 1946}, p-108.

main theme of professor Halford J.Mackinder's famous paper which he read in 1904[377], Emperor Napoleon remarked ' foreign policy of a nation is determined by its geography'[378].

Diplomatic Terms

Ranks of diplomat were recognised in Vienna 1815 which included counsellors of embassay, secretaries of an embassy divided into first, second and third and atatches which were naval, army and later air as well which were non career officers. Diplomat conducts the negotiations and counsellors looks after the interest. Agreement is an approval given by other state on the nomination of an envoy, the procedure itself is called agreation. Letter of credence, is the diplomats formal commission, it is signed by the head of state. The very first known permanent mission was established at Genoa in 1455 by Duke of Milan.

Propaganda.

Any attempt to persuade persons to accept a certain point or to take a certain actions. Its method and techniques differ, they include , method of presentation, techniques for giving better presentation. Devices for gaining response and methods of gaining acceptance.[379]

Himalayan Frontiers.

China's effort {600-900AD} were mainly against the Turkestan, the struggle was between the China and Tibet with buffer countries such as Baltistan being subject to one or the other depending upon the fortunes of war. Chinese armies assisting Baltistan chiefs reached Gilgit in 747 AD.[380] Later after the defeat of Chinese in the hands of Arabs , Baltistan acme under Tibet. After the death of Kyidegun of Tibet in 930 AD, his empire was divided among his three sons, with eldest son having Laddakh and soon he became independent. In 1339, Kashmir acme under Islamic dynasty, emperor Aurangzeb visited Kashmir in 1663 and he ensured that king of Leh to accept Islam and built a mosque at Leh[381]. Tibet had not altogether given up the Leh and Laddakh, a continuous war of attrition was fought between the two from 1639-1684, Moghuls acme to the help of Laddakh, forcing Tibet to evict leh and go back to Tashigong; in 1684, Treaty of Tinganosagng was signed.

Peloponnesian Wars

5th century BC, a war between the Athens and Sparta , after defeating the Persians , Athenians formed Dellian League, comprising of some 20 city states, first Peloponnesian War 460-445 BC and second was from 431-404 BC .

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[377] Halford Mackinder, *The Geographical pivot of History*, paper read at London, on 25th January 1904.
[378] H.E.Carr, *Twenty Years Crisis* {London, 1946}, p-41
[379] [379] N.D.Palmer & H.C.Perkins, ed, *International Affairs, the World community in Transition*, second edition, {Stevens & Sons, London, 1957},p- 127
[380] Dorothy Woodman, *Himalayan frontiers a political review of British, China, Russia and India rivalries*, {Crescent Press, London, 1969} p-19.
[381] Dorothy Woodman, *Himalayan frontiers a political review of British, China, Russia and India rivalries*, {Crescent Press, London, 1969} p-20.

Levels of Analysis

There are three types of analysis, first is the **individual**, which we all do, second is the analysis which is carried out at **state level** by the concerned authorities who see it from varying angles. A political party will observe the action of India in Kashmir from Pakistan political scenario, army will and is observing the Taliban offer of peace talks, Pakistan foreign office is monitoring the Ukrainian situation. The third level is that of **international organisations** analysis, for instance the G-8 action of suspending Russia 's membership in the wake of the Crimean crisis are few of the examples. **Paradigm,** is an intellectual framework.

Realism , Idealism, Interdependence & Dependency

These are four major perspective that have emerged out of the Post WWII. Realism highlights Pessimism, conflicted relations, Priority of power, Consequential ethics and above all priority or supermantra of state. E.F Carr, Hans Morgenthau, George F. Kenan and Niebuhr are few of the leading spokesmen for Realism. It revolves around the basic nature of man which earlier Greek philosophers have brought forward but it can be debatable as all men are not equal and as such their thinking perspective is different but seen collectively basing upon history , the realism revolves around the state. It focus on foreign policy which in realist opinion should be judged by its consequence and not the motive {consequential ethics}. Sate have conflicted relations with other states , Pakistan cannot overlook its power requirement which can be fulfilled by Iran being closer rather than to forge friendship with Saudi Arabia , this si an example of conflicted relations. **Idealism**. On the other hand believes in optimism, harmonious international relations, priority of law and institutions and above all priority of moral purposes. Dante, Kant, Widrow Wilson, Jimmy Carter , Nelson Mandela and Gandhi are few of the prominent personalities which have belief in the idealism. Religion is also an idealistic belief but then all religion are not equal, Buddhism is a a classical example of idealism and Islam a propagator of Realism. Western idealism is deep rooted in Christianity's beliefs.

Interdependency. An approach to the politics that emphasis the growing influence of transnational socio-economics co-operation and the role of non-state actors. It pays attention and highlights the rise of non state actors, with government no longer the only determinants of international relations. Functional cooperation is a priority , along with decline role of force. The NGOs role is important in this facet, for instance the 'landmine' was declared as inhuman by the late Lady Dianna and as such its use by any country would jeopardise the economic and public relation in other countries especially in UK. **Dependency** is opposite to interdependency and highlights the total reliance of a country on the other, It is based upon political economy of Marxism, weakness of state are related to its external conditions. It is quite interesting as UK is dependent upon other countries for its raw material and food requirement, on the other hand countries like Burma are dependent upon foreign investment due to poor infra structures, Germany is dependent rather Europe is dependent upon Russian gas for warmth in winter season. In dependency theory stress is upon the tussle among rich and poor countries, priorities of economic relationship, priority of interdependence and impact of non state actors.

Neo Realism.

It is also known as structural realism, it highlights the impact of anarchy on state ' *states will seek to maximize national power in order to reduce their vulnerability and increase national*

capability to advance foreign policy interest'[382]. The fundamental change from past is in accepting the institutions of the state as the primary cause of all the actions rather than the individual. Emphasis is on the structure of the society and institutions as the key corner state of the foreign policy.

Neo Liberalism

An idealist approach, optimistic about probability of peace and global cooperation, in their opinion the primary duty of state is to provide security and welfare[383].

Indo-Pak Western Boundary Case Tribunal- Rann of Kutch border dispute,

Ceasefire took place on 30th June 1965 and award itself was given in 19th February 1968. Ceasefire came into effect at 0300 hours GMT , 1st July 1965. Indi claimed that there is no territorial dispute, the boundary run along the northern edge of Rann of Kutch. Pakistan claims that the border runs along 24th Parallel , thus a dispute of 3500 square miles of territory. Joint communique of 24th October 1959 agreed to recourse to the tribunal for the determination of the border and decision of the tribunal shall be final and binding, a very unusual agreement between India and Pakistan but those were the times before the 1962 Sino Indiana and 1965 Pak-India war. The tribunal which finally acme into existence after 1965 War had the Judge Gunner Lagergren as the chairman, India elected Ales Bebler a judge of the constitutional court of Yugoslavia and Pakistan picked Nasrllah Entezam an Iranian ambassador who had been the president of general assembly.

Pakistan stance was that before 15th august 1947, the territories of India as defined in sub section {1} of section 311 of the Government of India act of 1935, consist of British India, Indian states and tribal Areas , i.e; areas that were neither British India nor Indian States .

The tribunal had first meeting on 15th February 1966 at Geneva, in June –July 1966, Pakistan delegation visited New Delhi to have a look at the documents, oral hearing begun on 15th September 1966 and lasted till 14th July 1967. On 13th July 1967 both parties reached an agreement on the demarcation.

Cold War Interpretation 1946-1991

Traditional , soviet Union is the culprit, a **revisionist** considers USA as the main culprit and **moderate** regards it as Great power Rivalry

Six Principles of Han G Morgenthau

Following are the 6 principles which **Morgenthau** has described in his book "***Politics among Nations"***

[382] Mark R.Armstutz, *International conflict & cooperation, An introduction to World Politics* {Mcgraw Hill, London, 1999},p-17.
[383] Mark R.Armstutz, *International conflict & cooperation, An introduction to World Politics* {Mcgraw Hill, London, 1999},p-18.

1. Politics is governed by certain objective laws which are deep rooted in human nature like society. To understand human nature it is necessary to understand these objective laws.
2. In international politics there is one thing and that is National interest. And the concept of interest is defined as in terms of power. Statesman thinks and acts in terms of interest which is defined as power.
3. Interest is the governing principle in international politics. Interest is valid but not fixed, interest changes with the change in international environment.
4. There is no morality in international politics. Political realism is aware of morality but it cannot be applied to the actions of the states. The primary function of a state is to satisfy and protect its national interest.
5. The universal moral laws which govern the universe do not apply to the action of states. Political realism refuses moral laws of universe. Moral laws of a particular state cannot be universalized. Their main focus is on interest. The action of a state is always based upon national interest as defined in terms of power.
6. Politics is autonomous among all other concepts. Like the economist defines its interest in terms of wealth, lawyer defines its interest in terms of legal rules; moralist defines its interest in terms of moral principles. A political realist always thinks in terms of interest defined as power. They are all incorporated under the notion of political realism.

Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan

Tribal areas generally mean areas having a preponderance of tribal population. They are characterized by geographical isolation, distinct culture, primitive traits, and economic backwardness . According to John Naisbitt {Global Paradox), tribalism is a belief in fidelity in one's own kind, defined by ethnicity, language, culture and religion. FATA constitutes seven administrative districts called Political Agencies, or just Agencies FATA Region is administratively divided into seven tribal agencies with each Agency inhabited by a distinct tribal groups. Out of these, presently 7 Division is responsible for border and anti terrorist duties in three agencies i.e. Khyber, Mohmand and North Waziristan. Whereas 9 Division looks after Kurram, Orakzai and South Waziristan Agencies along with the Shewa and Spinwam Tehsils of Mir Ali Sub Division in NWA. The Frontier Corps (FC) NWFP is operating in the entire FATA Belt. It also looks after Bajaur Agency and the districts of Dir and Chitral.

Also juxtaposed alongside the Agencies are seven Frontier Regions (FRs) administered by the settled area District administrations. There is also a small pocket of Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA). Apart from these officially designated tribal areas, there are sizeable areas in adjoining Baluchistan and Punjab provinces of Pakistan where there, are tribal societies while many so-called tribes are found in the Sindh province also, although no specific areas are officially

designated as "tribal" in that province. However, whether or not specific tribal areas are officially designated as tribal, they are easily distinguishable by peculiar characteristics.

The FATA tribal sociology is referred as male dominated, The basic unit of society is family, which is: extended; patrilineal – wherein, descent is through paternal lineage, with married daughters expected to transfer allegiance to husband's family; patrilocal - where married sons live within father's household though not always; patriarchal with the eldest male exercising authority over the extended family and endogamous-with preference to marry within the family, especially in case of female members. Majority of the tribes in most of the Agencies except Kurram are conservative Sunni Muslim with an invasive influence of the syeds, mullahs and the faqirs. Local nobility includes the tribal chieftain at the tribe/sub-tribe and clan level called the 'Malik'. Besides the traditional authority of the malik, the other two power centres are Ulema and the Political Agent and his functionaries. Ulema yield greater influence due to the conservative religious orientation of the society and due to the common cause they make with the local youth, against the corruption of Maliki System and the Political Administration. Sprouting of Madrassahs (religious seminaries) has increased the influence of politico-religious organizations, challenging the Riwaj and the authority of Maliks.Jirga or an assembly of elders functions like a rural parliament and provides a forum for resolution of conflicts and disputes and formulating of strategy for interacting with the Political Administration. Time honoured traditions are the unwritten laws governing social and political life. Decisions of the Jirga, are binding in nature and if needed are enforced through Chalweshti - a representative 40 member body comprising youth from all sub tribes and/or tribal Lashkar – that is a tribal army composed of all available able-bodied men from all tribes/sub tribes. The Kurram and Orakzai Agencies follow variants of tribal codes called Turizona (the law of the Turis) and Islamzoona/Quomzoona respectively for decision making in case of conflict. Even the Political Administration has to concede authority and abide by the decisions made in the tribal Jirgas in accordance to local customs and traditions. Weapons are carried as an indispensable personal belonging. The area is awash with heavy weaponry used by tribes in their inter / intra-tribal wars. Such weaponry and ordnance is owned by the tribe and is called Quomi aslihah.

While Islam forms an integral component of the Pakhtun or Pashtun ethnicity or collective self-definition, the most important of which is the belief in a common descent. This is reinforced by Pukhtunwali, their system of values, tribal institutions, history, mythology, aesthetic traditions and identification with a specific territory. Since Islam and the Pukhtunwali influence major areas of individual conduct, therefore, both are regarded as main determinants of Pathan ethnicity. ***Pashtunwali*** heavily influences social interaction and is characterized by *pat* -comradeship, *shegara* – doing good to others, *toora* - bravery, *wafa*– fidelity to the word and cause and *nang* – honour. The society is also very particular about *melmestia* – hospitality and *badal* – taking revenge. Unable to live by Pashtunwali generally invites strong social reaction and invokes shame at collective and individual levels. Honour or nang is the predominant value to be upheld in order to survive in the competitive rural environment where the competition between kor, clan and tribe (quom) is very intense and; since most of the population lives on subsistence level of agriculture and illegal cross border trade, money generally plays its part in very complex ways. Because of the ethnic links with Afghan Pashtuns across the Durand Line, there is frequent movement and contact across the porous Pak – Afghan border. Therefore, a sympathetic base of support for either side exists in both countries which cannot be eliminated altogether. This is important when viewed in the contest of the emergence of local terrorists or the Taliban.

Bajaur Agency. Bajaur was carved out as an Agency from a remote subdivision of the Malakand Agency on 1 December 1973 with HQ at Khar. The area of Bajaur Agency is 590 square

miles. It is a hilly area north of Malakand Agency. The approximate population of the Agency is 3,64,000. The main tribes are Utman Khel and Tarkani of which the major sections are Mohmand and Salar Zai. Before 1960, Bajaur was mainly inaccessible and it was in that year that an Assistant Political Agent was appointed whose HQs were outside the Agency at Munda, in Dir District.

Mohmand Agency. The Agency takes its name from the dominant inhabitants, the Mohmand tribe.The Agency was established in 1951, before which it was under the administrative control of Khyber Agency Political Administration. ***Durand Line is not demarcated between the Agency and Afghanistan*** resulting into friction between the Governments of Pakistan and Afghanistan. Mohmand Agency is divided into three administrative units i.e. Upper Mohmand, Lower Mohmand and Khawezai/Baezai areas. Since late 70's, about four attempts have been made to open the inaccessible areas of Khawezai and Baezai; however, these efforts could not succeed and had to be aborted due to the resistance posed by the locals.

Khyber Agency. The Agency derives its name from the famous Khyber Pass, which is situated at the height of 3,870 feet. Khyber itself is a Hebrew word, which means 'Castle'. Since the invasion of Aryans around 1600 BC, all the invaders except Europeans and Arabs have used Khyber Pass as a Western gateway to the Indo-Pak Subcontinent. It is the oldest Agency in the entire FATA, which was established in 1879. The British ventured into Tirah and Bazaar Valleys in 1897 but were unable to stay. Pakistan Army entered Tirah Valley after 104 years in 2003. Administratively Khyber Agency is divided into three Sub Divisions of Landi Kotal, Jamrud, and Bara.

Orakzai Agency. Orakzai Agency is the only tribal agency which does not share border with Afghanistan. Initially part of the Kohat Dist, called FR Kohat, it was constituted as an independent tribal agency on 01 December 1973. The origin of Orakzai tribe is shrouded in mystery, however legend has that around 10th Century AD, a Persian Prince "Sikandar Shah" was banished by his father for his conduct and was later referred as "Orak Zoi – the lost son". In service with the King of India, he was tasked to tame the tribes of Tirah who used to way lay the travellers. Having settled in the area, his descendants were known as Orakzai.

Kurram Agency. Kurram Agency was established in 1892 when after the 2nd Afghan War in 1878-79, the local Turi Tribe rebelled against the rule of Muhammadzai rulers of Afghanistan and supported General Lord Roberts, who liberated Kurram from the Afghan control and annexed it with British India. This is the first Agency where settlement of the land like in the rest of the British dominions was undertaken by the British (except in the Central Kurram). Kurram Agency has three sub divisions with Agency HQ at Parachinar. The HQ of Upper Sub Division is co-located with Agency HQ in Parachinar and the HQ of Lower and Central Kurram are at Sadda in Lower Kurram. The Agency is 115 kms long with a total area of 3,380 square kilometres. Kurram Agency controls the famous Tochi Pass and the strategic entry points at Kharlachi and Teri Mangal/Gavi, west of Parachinar in the foothills of Koh-e-Safed (also called Safed Koh), the White Mountain, which stretches west to east forming the maize of Tirah Valley in the Khyber Agency.The infamous ***Tora Bora*** lies to the north of Parachinar on the northern slopes of Koh-e-Safed. The Safed Koh Range drains to the south in the Kurram River that meanders through the entire length of the Agency till it enters North Waziristan Agency near Thal. The fugitives of Al-Qaeda and Taliban crossed over via Safed Koh in December 2001 to escape the US bombing of Tora Bora in Paktia Province in Afghanistan. 73 Brigade was the first to open its account in the Global War on Terrorism (GWOT), when its units apprehended 206 escapees belonging to 26 countries from the foothills of Safed Koh. The distribution of Shia population along the major urban centres all along the Kurram Valley Road north of Alizai has important implications for the GWOT. The Terrorists, due to

their Sunni roots, find it difficult to find sanctuaries in Shia dominated areas. However, the outlying areas like Central Kurram are reported to have transitory presence of Terrorists. This is particularly relevant to the Arghanjo/Khanki Bazaar areas of Upper Orakzai Agency bordering Central Kurram, east of Sadda. The repatriation of Afghan Refugees from most of the Agency in 2005 has also diluted the impact of the Sunni population in their support against the Shia as well as terrorist related activities. There are a total 30 passages between Pakistan and Afghanistan in the Agency and Kurram Militia with its five wings is responsible for manning the Pak-Afghan Border. The thin waste of the Agency near Alizai and the proximity of Khowst in Afghanistan have important security related concern in the present geo-strategic environment

South Waziristan Agency (SWA). It is the 2nd oldest agency after Khyber. Created in 1895 with A.J Grant as the first Political Agent, this Agency has three sub divisions of Wana, Srarogha and Tiarza. Its main inhabitants are the Darwesh Khel tribes of Wazir and Mahsud with intense agnatic rivalry. As per the Nikkat System (details later), the Political Agent sits for 3/4th of his time in Tank, close to Mahsud Triangle in the settled district of Tank, and spends 1/4th time in summers in the Wazir town of Wana.

North Waziristan Agency (NWA). The third Agency in the AOR of 7 Division i.e. NWA has largely remained unaffected by the march of centuries. The Sikh who succeeded the Mughal authority could only extend their rule upto Dilipgarh Fort, later called Edwardesabad (present day Bannu), in the 1840s. The British who followed them in the late 1850s subjugated the area through a series of punitive expeditions following the tribesmen's forays into the British areas. It remained sovereign till the British entered North Waziristan in 1894 through the agreement with the tribes. The entire area of North and South Waziristan remained the centre of the revolt against the British rule under the leadership of Haji Mirza Ali Khan alias Faqir of Ipi belonging to Arsal Kot area in Shaktu Valley in the Mahsud Belt around 1937-40. The Agency was created in 1910 with Miranshah (also Miramshah) as its HQs. The Agency has three administrative units/sub divisions namely the Mir Ali, Miranshah and Razmak. Its primary inhabitants are Uthmanzai Wazir (Darwesh Khel) and Daur Tribes.

Wazir Belt.The Wazir Belt is contiguous to Pak-Afghan Border and is generally mountainous with heights upto 11,000 feet. Main towns and villages in Wazir area are Wana, Shin Warsak, Azam Warsak, Zalai, Angoor Adda, Khamrang, Janimela, Sangtoi, Mantoi and Shakki. The Wana Valley is a desolate plain with the towering Bosh Ghar in the north rising upto 11,000 feet. Bosh Mountain forms the watershed between Wana Plain and the Shawal Valley in the NWA. North/NW of Wana is the Shakki Valley. It merges in two small valleys of Sangtoi and Mantoi in the north and ultimately forms the foothills of the Bosh Ghar. West of Shakki Valley is the formidable feature of Janimela. The mountains make a confusing mass north and NW till they gradually fall into the Birmel (Birmal) Plain inside the Afghan territory across Angoor Adda

Mahsud Triangle. Area east of Road Wana – Ladha – Kaniguram - Razmak generally belongs to Mahsud tribesmen. Both the Main supply routes from the settled areas towards SWA in general and Wazir Areas in particular run through Mahsud area. The area is mountainous with commanding heights in the proximity of Makeen, Ladha and Janata, Srarogha and Sarwekai in the south. A formidable feature of tactical importance called Karwana Manzai, south of Ladha, rises upto 7,000 feet and influences strategic domination of the area. The area rolls down towards east of this feature.

The Agency is drained by various seasonal nullahs called Algads, Tois and Paal. Saddar Algad runs like a continuous vein from the foothills of Bosh Mountains right upto its confluence with Shahur Algad/River in the north of Sarwekai. The terrain is sizzling hot especially the lower valleys in the

summers and snow bound in winters. The area receives good monsoon rains in July/August and the gorges and valleys are prone to flash floods. Cumulatively the terrain and climate can be described as harsh.

Frontier Regions. The Federally Administered Tribal Areas also contain six small administrative units called Frontier Regions which are named after adjacent settled districts. The administration of the Frontier Regions is carried out by the district coordination officer of a neighbouring named district. The overall administration of the frontier regions is carried out by the FATA Secretariat, based in Peshawar and reporting to the Governor of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa. The six regions are: Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan (Darazinda), Kohat (Darra Adam Khel), Lakki Marwat, Peshawar and Tank (Jandola)

Administrative Division of the Political Agencies

Agency	**Assistant Political Agency**	**Subdivision**	**Tehsil**
Khyber Agency	Bara	Bara	None
	Jamrud	Jamrud	Town Committee Jamrud Jamrud Tehsil Mullah Gori Tehsil
	Landi Kotal	Landi Kotal	Town Committee, Landi Kotal Landi Kotal Tehsil
Mohmand Agency	Upper Mohmand	Upper Mohmand	Safi Tehsil Upper Mohmand Tehsil Talimzai Tehsil
	Jamrud	Jamrud	Town Committee Jamrud Jamrud Tehsil Mullah Gori Tehsil
	Yakka Ghund	Lower Mohmand	Pindyali Tehsil Ambar Tehsil Yakka Ghund Tehsil Prang Ghar Tehsil
Bajaur Agency	Khar	Khar	Khar Tehsil Salarzai Tehsil Uthman Khel Tehsil

	Nawagai	Nawagai	Mamund Tehsil Chamarkand Tehsil Nawagai Tehsil Barrang Tehsil
Orakzai Agency	Upper Tehsil	Upper Tehsil	Upper Tehsil Ismailzai Tehsil
	Lower Tehsil	Lower Tehsil	Lower Tehsil Central Tehsil
Kurram Agency	Upper Kurram	Upper Kurram	Town Committee, Parachinar Upper Kurram
	Lower Kurram	Lower Kurram	Town Committee Sadda Lower Kurram
	Central Kurram	None	None
North Waziristan Agency	Miram Shah	Miram Shah	Town Committee, Miram Shah Miram Shah Tehsil Ghulam Khan Tehsil Datta Khel Tehsil
	Mir Ali	Mir Ali	Mir Ali Tehsil Spinwam Tehsil Shewa Tehsil
	Razmak	Razmak	Razmak Tehsil Dossali Tehsil Garyum Tehsil

South Waziristan Agency	Sarwakai	Sarwakai	Sarwakai Tehsil Tiarza Tehsil
	Ladha	Ladha	Ladha Tehsil Sararogha Tehsil Makin Tehsil
	Wana	Wana	Wana Tehsil Bermal Tehsil Toi Khullah Tehsil

Land Use

Geographic area	27220 sq km
Reported area	2722042 ha
Cultivated area	198748 ha (about 7%)
Irrigated area (as part of cultivated area)	79884 ha (about 40%)
Culturable waste Land	171607 ha (about 6%)
Forest	44405 ha (about 2%)
Area not available for cultivation	2307282 ha (about 85%)

The existing position of Roads in FATA is as follows:

Agency/FR	**High typ (KM)**	**Low typ (KM)**	**Total (KM)**	**Area (SKM)**	**Road/S KM**
Bajaur	249.03	239.22	488.25	1290	0.35
Mohmand	338.90	153.88	492.78	2296	0.21
Khyber	330.90	193.43	523.71	2576	0.2

Orakzai	248.24	241.08	489.32	1538	0.32
North Waziristan	449.92	103.86	553.78	4707	0.12
Kurram	222.70	232.92	455.62	3380	0.13
South Waziristan	393.80	398.82	792.62	6620	0.12
FR Peshawar	101.02	18.74	119.76	261	0.46
FR Kohat	64.61	20.25	84.86	446	0.19
FR Lakki & FR Bannu	115.65	107.78	223.43	877	0.25
FR Tank	85.52	71.75	157.27	1221	0.13
FR D.I. Khan	75.00	52.17	127.17	2008	0.06
Total:	2674.67	1833.90	4508.57	27220	0.17

AREA & POPULATION	
Area (Sq. Km)	27220
Total Population (Persons) 1998 census	3683102
Male Population (Persons)	1915624
Female Population (Persons)	1767477
Density (Persons Per Sq. Km)	135
Annual Growth Rate (%) 1981-1998	2.19
Reported Area (000 Hectares)	2722
Cultivated Area (000 Hectares)	199
Culturable Waste (000 Hectares)	236
Culturable Area (000 Hectares)	435
Irrigated Area (000 Hectares)	83
Forest Area (000 Hectares)	46
Cultivated Area as % of Reported Area.	7.31
Irrigated Area as % of Cultivated Area.	41.70
Forest Area as % of Reported Area.	1.69
Land Use Intensity %.	45.75
i) Cultivated Area (Persons)	18

ii) Irrigated Area (Persons)	43
Maize	1550
Rice	1498
Wheat	913
Veterinary Hospital (Nos.)	22
Veterinary Dispensaries (Nos.)	134
Civil Veterinary Centers (Nos.)	100
FOREST/FISHERIES	
Fish Hatchery (Nos.)	NA
Fruit Plants Distributed (Nos.) (Estimated)	NA
ELECTRICITY	
Villages Electrified (Nos.)	3741

EDUCATION	**Year**			
Educational Institutions	**2004-05**	**Male**	**Female**	**Both Sexes**
All Primary level School (Nos)	**-do-**	2588	1730	4318
	-do-	282	122	404
High Schools (Nos.)	-do-	205	26	231
Higher Secondary Schools (Nos.)	-do-	8	2	10
Inter Degree Colleges (Nos.)	-do-	21	11	32
Universities (Nos.)	-do-		-	-
Participation Rate (%)				
Primary Level (5-9)	**-do-**	61	32	46
Middle Level (10-12)	-do-	67	23	47
High Level (13-14)	**-do-**	43	7	26
Teaching Staff				
Primary Schools (Nos.)	**-do-**	6785	4139	10924
Middle Schools (Nos.)	**-do-**	2903	1047	3950
High Schools (Nos.)	**-do-**	3878	409	4287
Higher Secondary School (Nos.)	**-do-**	254	52	306
Enrolment by Level				
Primary Schools (Nos.)	-do-	220117	123419	343536
Middle Schools (Nos.)	-do-	52833	15257	68090
High Schools (Nos.)	-do-	80810	10294	91104
Higher Secondary School (Nos.)	-do-	5349	852	6201
Literacy Ratio (%)	1998 Census	29.51	3.00	17.42

HEALTH	
Hospital (Nos.)	41
Dispensary (Nos.)	300
R.H.Cs (Nos.)	8
B.H.Us functioning (Nos.)	169
B.H.Us Non-functioning (Nos.)	-
Hospital & Dispensary Beds (Nos.)	1680
Population per Hospital & Dispensary Bed (Person)	2145
Doctors (Nos.)	507
Population per Doctor (Person)	7108
Nurses (Nos.)	106

Population per Nurse (Person)		34001

PUBLIC HEALTH ENGINEERING		
Tubewells (Nos)	2003-04	1004
Rural Drinking Water Coverage (%)	-db-	59
COMMUNICATIONS		
Total Roads (Kms)	2003-04	4908.072
High Type (Kms)	-do-	3040.666
Low Type (Kms)	-do-	1867.406
Road per Sq. Km. of Area (Kms)	-do-	0.18
Post Offices (Nos.)	2002-03	195
Population per Post Office (Persons)	-do-	18087
Telephones (Nos.)	2003-04	40832
Population per Telephone (Persons)	-do-	88

Population (FATA, 1998)

Agency/FR	**Area (sq km)**	**Population (total)**	**Population density (persons per sq km)**	**Annual growth rate, 1981–98 (%)**
FATA	27,220	3,176,331	117	2.19
Bajaur	1,290	595,227	461	4.33
Khyber	2,576	546,730	212	3.92
Kurram	3,380	448,310	133	2.50
Mohmand	2,296	334,453	146	4.28
North Waziristan	4,707	361,246	77	2.46
Orakzai	1,538	225,441	147	- 2.69
South Waziristan	6,620	429,841	65	1.95
FR Bannu	745	19,593	26	- 6.65
FR Dera Ismail Khan	2,008	38,990	19	- 2.09

FR Kohat	446	88,456	198	2.59
FR Lakki	132	6,987	53	- 4.81
FR Peshawar	261	53,841	206	2.22
FR Tank		27,216	22	- 0.61

Demographic indicators (Pakistan, KPK and FATA, 1998)

Indicator	**Pakistan**	**KPK**	**FATA**
Geographical area (sq km)	796,096	74,521	27,220
Annual population growth, 1981–98 (%)	2.69	2.82	2.19
Average household size (persons)	6.80	8.00	9.30
Urban population (% of total)	32.50	16.87	2.70
Population density (persons per sq km)	166.30	238.10	116.70

Electricity So far 3720 villages and hamlets have been electrified in FATA, while 117416 connections have been given divided as follows:

Domestic - 101238

Commercial - 11769

Industrial - 2061

Irrigation - 2348

The Constitutional status

Part XII: Miscellaneous

Chapter 3: Tribal Areas.

246 Tribal Areas.

In the Constitution,

(a) "Tribal Areas" means the areas in Pakistan which, immediately before the commencing day, were Tribal Areas, and includes

(i) the Tribal Areas of [653][Balochistan][653] and the [654][Khyber Pakhtunkhwa][654] Province; [655][][655]

(ii) the former States of Amb, Chitral, Dir and Swat;

[656][][656]

(b) "Provincially Administered Tribal Areas" means

(i) The districts of Chitral, Dir and Swat (which includes Kalam), [658][the Tribal Area in Kohistan district,][658] Malakand Protected Area, the Tribal Area adjoining [659][Mansehra][659]district and the former State of Amb; and

(ii) Zhob district, Loralai district (excluding Duki Tehsil), Dalbandis Tehsil of Chagai District and Marri and Bugti tribal territories of Sibi district; and

(c) Federally Administered Tribal Areas includes

(i) Tribal Areas adjoining Peshawar district;

(ii) Tribal Areas adjoining Kohat district;

(iii) Tribal Areas adjoining Bannu district;

[660][

(iiia) Tribal Areas adjoining Lakki Marwat District;

][660]

(iv) Tribal Areas adjoining Dera Ismail Khan district;

[661][

(iva) Tribal Areas adjoining Tank District;

] [661] [662] [

(v) Bajaur Agency;

(va) Orakzai Agency;

] [662]

(vi) Mohmand Agency;

(vii) Khyber Agency;

(viii) Kurram Agency;

(ix) North Waziristan Agency, and

(x) South Waziristan Agency.

247 Administration of Tribal Areas.

(1) Subject to the Constitution, the executive authority of the Federation shall extend to the Federally Administered Tribal Areas, and the executive authority of a Province shall extend to the Provincially Administered Tribal Areas therein.

(2) The President may, from time to time, give such directions to the Governor of a Province relating to the whole or any part of a Tribal Area within the Province as he may deem necessary, and the Governor shall, in the exercise of his functions under this Article, comply with such directions.

(3) No Act of [663] [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)] [663] shall apply to any Federally Administered Tribal Area or to any part thereof, unless the President so directs, and no Act of [664] [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)] [664] or a Provincial Assembly shall apply to a Provincially Administered Tribal Area, or to any part thereof, unless the Governor of the Province in which the Tribal Area is situated, with the approval of the President, so directs; and in giving such a direction with respect to any law, the President or, as the case may be, the Governor, may direct that the law shall, in its application to a Tribal Area, or to a specified part thereof, have effect subject to such exceptions and modifications as may be specified in the direction.

(4) Notwithstanding anything contained in the Constitution, the President may, with respect to any matter within the legislative competence of [665] [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)] [665], and the Governor of a Province, with the prior approval of the President, may, with respect to any

matter within the legislative competence of the Provincial Assembly make regulations for the peace and good government of a Provincially Administered Tribal Area or any part thereof, situated in the Province.

(5) Notwithstanding anything contained in the Constitution, the President may, with respect to any matter, make regulations for the peace and good Government of a Federally Administered Tribal Area or any part thereof.

(6) The President may, at any time, by Order, direct that the whole or any part of a Tribal Area shall cease to be Tribal Area, and such Order may contain such incidental and consequential provisions as appear to the President to be necessary and proper:

Provided that before making any Order under this clause, the President shall ascertain, in such manner as he considers appropriate, the views of the people of the Tribal Area concerned, as represented in tribal jirga.

(7) Neither the Supreme Court nor a High Court shall exercise any jurisdiction under the Constitution in relation to a Tribal Area, unless [666][Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)][666] by law otherwise provides:

Provided that nothing in this clause shall affect the jurisdiction which the Supreme Court or a High Court exercised in relation to a Tribal Area immediately before the commencing day.

Notes

[653] Substituted by Constitution (Eighteenth Amendment) Act, 2010, Section 91(a) (with effect from April 19, 2010) for "Baluchistan".

[654] Substituted by Constitution (Eighteenth Amendment) Act, 2010, Section 91(a) (with effect from April 19, 2010) for "North-West Frontier".

[655] The following was omitted by Constitution (Eighteenth Amendment) Act, 2010, Section 91(a) (with effect from April 19, 2010) : "and".

[656] The following was omitted by Constitution (Nineteenth Amendment) Act, 2010, Section 7(i) (with effect from January 1, 2011) : "[657][

(iii) Tribal Areas adjoining Lakki Marwat District; and

(iv) Tribal Areas adjoining Tank District.

][657]".

[657] Inserted by Constitution (Eighteenth Amendment) Act, 2010, Section 91(b) (with effect from April 19, 2010).

[658] Inserted by Constitution (Sixth Amendment) Act, 1976 (84 of 1976), Section 4(a)(i) (with effect from October 1, 1976).

[659] Substituted by Constitution (Sixth Amendment) Act, 1976 (84 of 1976), Section 4(a)(ii) (with effect from October 1, 1976) for "Hazara".

[660] Inserted by Constitution (Nineteenth Amendment) Act, 2010, Section 7(ii)(a) (with effect from January 1, 2011).

[661] Inserted by Constitution (Nineteenth Amendment) Act, 2010, Section 7(ii)(b) (with effect from January 1, 2011).

[662] Substituted by Constitution (Sixth Amendment) Act, 1976 (84 of 1976), Section 4(b) (with effect from December 1, 1976) for :

(v) Bajaur in Malakand Agency;

[663] Substituted by Revival of Constitution of 1973 Order, 1985 (President's Order No. 14 of 1985), Art 2, Sch. item 1 (with effect from March 2, 1985) for "Parliament".

[664] Substituted by Revival of Constitution of 1973 Order, 1985 (President's Order No. 14 of 1985), Art 2, Sch. item 1 (with effect from March 2, 1985) for "Parliament".

[665] Substituted by Revival of Constitution of 1973 Order, 1985 (President's Order No. 14 of 1985), Art 2, Sch. item 1 (with effect from March 2, 1985) for "Parliament".

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